Gc
942.4401
R22m
1267973

M. L.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 00718 8110

Memorials
of
Old Herefordshire

Hampton Court, Leominster—North View.

MEMORIALS

OF

OLD HEREFORDSHIRE

EDITED BY

REV. COMPTON READE, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

"Vera Effigies" "A Memoir of Charles Reade, D.C.L."
"The Smith Families" "A Record of the Redes"
"Umbra Cœli" &c., &c.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

Bc
42.4401
R22m

LONDON
BEMROSE AND SONS LIMITED, 4, SNOW HILL, E.C.
AND DERBY
1904

[*All Rights Reserved*]

TO

SIR JOHN G. COTTERELL, BART.,

LORD LIEUTENANT;

TO

JOHN HUNGERFORD ARKWRIGHT, ESQ.,

LATE LORD LIEUTENANT;

AND TO THE

NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN OF HEREFORDSHIRE,

THESE MEMORIALS OF AN ANCIENT, LOYAL,

AND MOST PICTURESQUE COUNTY

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDI-

CATED BY THE

EDITOR.

1267973

PREFACE

THIS volume does not profess to be a History of Herefordshire, neither can it advance the slightest claim to cover so wide a ground. A number of writers—all directly or indirectly connected with the County—have presented within a necessarily limited compass phases of subjects especially their own, thereby bringing under the eye of the reader topics of varied local and historical interest. The dead past has been in some measure brought to light, contrasting in many particulars favourably with the living present and its increasingly strenuous struggle for existence. At all events, in virtue of faithful and accurate research, we are enabled to view our forefathers, and the conditions under which they lived and thrived, with less of prejudice than the popular authors of the early Victorian era. As regards the men of old time it may be affirmed:—

> Their truth and ours are diverse. It is well.
> Each cycle brings fresh knowledge. Theirs for them,
> As ours for us.—One kind; yet different growths.

I have to thank my contributors, collectively and individually, for their generous collaboration, and with that to express a sincere conviction, that so much painstaking research and literary excellence will be as largely appreciated by the public as by their most grateful colleague,

COMPTON READE.

CONTENTS

		Page
Historic Herefordshire	By the Editor	1
Hereford Cathedral	By the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford, D.D., F.S.A.	21
Sketch of the History of the College of Vicars Choral, Hereford	By the Rev. Custos Duncombe	38
Early British and Roman Periods	By James Davies, Esq.	52
The Border Castles of Herefordshire	By the Rev. Arthur T. Bannister, M.A.	66
The Vaughans of Herefordshire	By H. F. J. Vaughan of Humphreston, Esq.	79
The Old City of Hereford	By W. J. Humfrys, Esq.	95
The Herefordshire Monasteries	By the Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A.	115
Goodrich	By Prebendary Seaton, M.A.	135
Folk-lore of the Shire	By Mrs. F. H. Leather	148
The House of Scudamore	By E. F. D.-Scudamore, Esq.	167
The Lollards and Almeley	By the Rev. R. Hyett Warner, M.A.	181
Weobley and the Timber Houses of the Shire	By George Marshall, Esq.	204
The Martyrdom of Fathers Cadwallador and Kemble	By the Right Rev. Prior Cummins, O.S.B.	216
John Kyrle—the "Man of Ross"—and the Kyrle Family	By Rev. C. L. Money-Kyrle, M.A.	223

PAGE

The Evolution of Herefordshire Cyder . . . . . By E. F. BULMER, M.A. . 236

Wordsworth at Brinsop Court and Goodrich Castle . . . By T. HUTCHINSON, ESQ. 242

Antiquities of Leominster . . By HAROLD EASTON, ESQ. 248

Herefordshire Bells . . . By G. H. PHILLOTT, M.A. 262

Ancient Ledbury . . . . By the EDITOR and J. F. PARR, ESQ. . . 272

Index 279

INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Hampton Court, Leominster—North View . . *Frontispiece*
(*From Photo by T. H. Winterbourn, Leominster*)

FACING PAGE

Lord Fanhope, K.G., with his Consort, the Princess Elizabeth, Duchess of Exeter and Sister to King Henry IV. . 10

Hereford Cathedral from the Palace Grounds . . . 20
(*From Photo by A. J. Wilson, Hereford*)

Cloisters of the College of Vicars-Choral, Hereford . . 38

Old Timber House, High Town, Hereford . . . 95
(*From Photo by Jakeman and Carver, Hereford*)

Kilpeck Church Door (*From Photo by Jakeman and Carver, Hereford*) 114

Goodrich Castle . . (*From a block lent by Prebendary Seaton*) 134

Carvings on the Walls of Goodrich Castle . . . 138
(*From a block lent by Prebendary Seaton*)

St. Peter's Well, Peterchurch 148

Wheat Plait or "Knack," made from the "Mare"; "Bush" burnt on New Year's Morning; Galls of the Wild Rose, worn as a Charm to prevent Toothache . . . 160

Owen Glyndwr Tower 167
(*From a block lent by Jakeman and Carver, Hereford*)

Church Spire and Street, Weobley 204
(*From Picture in the possession of F. H. Leather, Esq.*)

Old Timber Houses, Weobley 212
(*From Pictures in the possession of F. H. Leather, Esq.*)

Chair of John Kyrle—"The Man of Ross" . . . 222
(*From Photo by The London and Suburban Photographic Co.*)

Brinsop Court, near Hereford—North View, showing Chapel . 242
(*From Photo lent by Mrs. Dearman Edwards*)

Leominster Church (*From Photo by T. H. Winterbourn, Leominster*) 248

Lord Biddulph's Jacobean Mansion, Ledbury . . . 272
(*From Photo by Tilley and Son, Ledbury*)

HISTORIC HEREFORDSHIRE.

By the Editor.

TO one standing on the summit of an eminence such as Lincoln, with its vista of fen-land, the horizon appears vague and objectless. Strain your eyes as you will, the sky-line eludes their gaze. So, also, with history. Its foreground may be vivid, its middle distance present sharp outlines; but the past fades in mist. To the observant eye the broken surface of some among the low-lying hills, surging as waves beneath the environing circle of mountainous ranges which secludes Herefordshire alike from England and from Wales, can but tell of scenes and events whereof we have no cognisance. Try to rede suggestive details into verified history, and the outcome is mere illusion, as picturesque, perchance, and as mysterious, as the Herefordshire "blue," so dear to artists: *i.e.*, the ruddy marl of the hillsides viewed through the medium of its grey exhalations. Wood-crowned rising-ground, orchards bearing the rarest fruit, green meadows dotted with pollard oaks—all the glories of leafage and colour—invite the wayfarer to linger in enjoyment, the inhabitant to rejoice in his home; but what lies beyond history resembles the motto of some dust-laden hatchment. *Fuimus* is the inarticulate legend of the ancient hills. They have emerged from eternity silent, passive, *carentes vate sacro.*

The aborigines of this region, according to Tacitus, presented strong points of resemblance to the Iberians, *i.e.*, the Basques of Spain, especially as regards their

cranial development, which was dolicho-cephalous, or elongated, being also accompanied by the large black eyes of the Spaniards. This type of skull still exists in Herefordshire villages, but commonly with vivid blue eyes and a brilliant complexion. Lustrous dark eyes are by no means uncommon, only in combination with less peculiar heads. We have, therefore, a survival of Silurian characteristics, but differentiated; and in respect of the Iberian theory, which postulates an immigration of Basques in pre-historic days, it may be remarked, *pace* Darwin, that similarity of structure does not necessarily imply identity of origin; while, if we accept the hypothesis that this Basque immigration took place prior to the overflow of the German Ocean, which, according to geologists, forced a channel between England and France, we find ourselves travelling very far towards the nebulous region of vapid conjecture. Suffice it that we are indebted to the careful Roman historian for a description of the native aborigines of this region, and that to this very hour Herefordshire displays affinities with the primæval Silurian stock, blended, nevertheless, with other strains.

No doubt for centuries, if not for æons, these Silurians enjoyed the sole and peaceable occupation of England; but their methods being primitive to the extent of their being unarmed, the time came when from over sea descended upon them a double wave of Celtic invasion. Fortunately, these waves broke against each other, for Goidelic struggling with Brythonic Celt, afforded the Silurians their opportunity, and the Goidelic Celts found themselves under the necessity of courting a Silurian alliance against their own kinsmen. Nevertheless, while on the Welsh border Silurian and Goidelic Celt had coalesced, when the third mighty wave of conquest—that of the disciplined Roman legions—overspread the land, it was the great Brython Caradoc (Latinised as Caractacus) who led, and for a time successfully, the Celtic and Silurian host against Ostorius.

With the captivity of Caradoc Celt and Silurian lost their individuality, and while some lingered in Herefordshire as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Romans of Magna Castra and Ariconium, the majority sought an asylum among the grim gorges of South Wales, to be styled in the future Galli or Welsh. They retained their chiefs, and later on, when the Roman occupation ceased, sought, but in vain, to oust the Saxon sea-wolves, who had followed the trail of the departing Romans, sweeping over the face of the land, and for the nonce displacing Roman civilisation. The new-comers were Teutons, vigorous, capable men, but on the threshold of the invasion barbarians. Those of them who penetrated as far as the Welsh border formed for themselves the Kingdom of the Marches—Mercia—and very soon made the Welsh understand that to overstep their dividing line, Offa's Dyke, was to forfeit a hand. Between Saxon and Celt the difference has always parallelled that which separates order from disorder; and of the Welsh horde it might be said as of Nature, *expellas furcâ tamen usque recurrit.* Unhappily for the turbulent Welsh, while they clashed perpetually with the Saxons on land, they were equally harried by the pirate Danes on the sea coast. None the less they proved themselves irrepressible. Behind the long curtain of the Black Mountains, which seem to have reminded the Roman invaders of their own dreaded and hated Alps, they were safe from attack, and could descend on the fertile valleys of Herefordshire at will, and did so at intervals in the most cruel and vindictive spirit. Having regard to the fact that the Welsh boasted their Christianity long before Augustine came to Canterbury, it seems the more paradoxical that they should have caught none of its spirit. Temperament doubtless lends its colour to religion, and it remains a coincidence that the disciples of such saints as Dubricius and David should have found a truculent counterpart in the Welsh Oliver Cromwell, *als* Williams.

The Kingdom of the Marches—Mercia—attained its zenith under Offa, soon to be subjugated by Edward the Elder; and when St. Dunstan unified England, each of the separate kingdoms came under the rule of an Earl. Of these Earls, Leofric is best remembered as having founded Leominster and as the husband of Lady Godiva, immortalised by the legend of "Peeping Tom" of Coventry. This Earl's domain must originally have been spacious, but Edward the Confessor converted the Herefordshire portion into a separate Earldom under Sweyn, son of the redoubtable Earl Godwin. The names Eardisley, Eardisland, and Leinthal Earles recall this phase of the history of the shire.

We are now approaching the last great wave of conquest. The primeval Silurian had succumbed to the Goidelic Celt, the Goidelic Celt to the Brythonic, and all three tribes went down before Ostorius and Frontinus. Then, after the lapse of three centuries, followed the great Saxon wave and the Danish half-wave, so that when the Confessor mounted the throne of England, this moiety of the island, including Wales, contained a congeries of races. He himself was practically French, and imbued with a spice of contempt for his subjects. He had been bred in France, and was son of a French mother. Hence his one idea was to introduce into England French civilisation, which already had assumed the form of feudalism. Earl Sweyn, having seduced the Abbess of Leominster, was banished; Ralph, the Confessor's nephew, became Earl, and with him descended upon the Welsh border a pair of Normanised Englishmen, viz., Richard, son of Scrob or Scroope, who built for himself Richard's Castle, and Osbern, styled Pentecost—apparently on the *lucus á non* principle, inasmuch as this bold Baron was endued with anything but a pentecostal spirit—who erected the Castle of Ewyas. Suffice it that the Saxons of the period rose in anger against this new development, and when Ralph was recalled and Sweyn restored to his

Earldom, ventilated their grievances. It happened, however, that Sweyn being a second time banished, the Norman Ralph returned to encounter an invasion of the Welsh, which resulted in pillage. Strange to relate, when the Frenchified Englishmen were harried oversea by Earl Godwin, Ralph retained office, but the Pentecost and the son of Scroope disappeared, the former to die fighting with Macbeth at Dunsinane, the latter alone returning on the death of Earl Godwin. Disaster followed. The Welsh, under Algar, burned Hereford Cathedral, and it needed the prowess of the Saxon Harold, son of Earl Godwin, to crush them.

After the Norman Conquest, William Fitzosbern was appointed Earl, and Viceroy during the absence of William in Normandy. Confronted by another Welsh rising, this strong man, whose residence on the border seems to have been Richard's Castle, set to work to commence a chain of castles, *parvis componere magna*, resembling Lord Kitchener's block-houses, and stretching from Abergavenny to Shrewsbury. To him may be attributed those "Customs of the Marches" which rendered the Norman barons almost independent. Hence the rapid rise of certain great families, whose names are graven on the annals of the Shire. Thus, in 1277, we find a complete list of the then Lord Marchers as follows:—

De Mortemer of Wigmore;

De Mortemer of Richard's Castle, inherited from Fitzosbern;

Corbet of Caurs;

De Verdun, representing De Lacey by marriage;

De Geneville, Lord of Ludlow Castle, also representing De Lacey;

De Tregoz, representing FitzRobert and De Cantilupe;

De Tony of Elvael;

De Clifford of Tenbury;

Giffard of Clifford Castle;
De Braose of Abergavenny;
De Chaworth of Kidwelly Castle;
De Camville of Llanstephan;
FitzMartin of Cemaes;
FitzPeter of Talgarth;
De Hastings of Cilgeran;
Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, of Grosmont, Skenfrith, and White Castles;
De Bohun, Earl of Hereford, of Eardisley Castle;
De Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Strigul Castle;
De Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Lord of Glamorgan.

In the next generation, De Mortemer of Richard's and Burford Castles had been succeeded, as regards the latter by the Cornewalls—descending, with the bende sinister, from the King of the Romans, son of King John—who also held Stepleton Castle; and, as regards Richard's Castle, by the Talbots. But the main line of the De Mortemers—later Mortimer—continued to reign in Wigmore, and their title, Earl of March, seems to indicate a supremacy over the Border barons. It was their high destiny to become fused with royalty, and their blood adorns the veins of the present dynasty.

The Barons, intoxicated by the sway of regal power within their own strongholds, holding the lives of their vassals within the palm of their hands, from time to time took sides with or against the reigning monarchs. Defeated, they suffered, if not death, attainder with the confiscation of their castles and lands; victorious, they entered on the inheritance of their fallen compeers. Thus the game of civil war became a gamble, wherein all in the long run were certain to be losers. Hence the elimination after the Wars of the Roses of nearly all the original Norman Barons. Mortimer, De Lacey, De Bohun, De Braose, De Clare, De Clifford, and the rest, so far as

Herefordshire is concerned have long since faded into *nominum umbræ*, albeit the blood of many among them remains in the few old families that have survived agricultural depression.

But the fate of the successors of these, the first Norman settlers, was less tragical. After the Norman Baron followed the Knight, sometimes, like Scudamore, Devereux, Baskerville, and Neville, of Norman blood; sometimes, like Lingen and Lenthall, Croft, Harley, and Hopton, Saxon; or like Vaughan and Mynors, Celtic in origin. They won their way to the front rank mostly by prowess in the field, though not seldom by lofty alliances; and even on the Welsh Border, where the rule was of necessity military in view of probable and sudden raids, their exercise of lordship proved beneficial. Castellated or crenelated mansions, such as Kynnersley and Kentchurch, supplemented the defensive potentiality of the Norman castles, until, except in the rare instances when an organised inroad on a large scale overtaxed the resources of the castles, the predatory Welsh may be said to have been overawed.

Thus was created by the force of circumstance a community of interest between classes, until the fourteenth century came to be described as the paradise of the labouring man. There was no ejection from house and home when Candlemas, with all the rigours of snow and ice, came round. The real serfdom of a wage dependent on the caprice of a master did not then exist. The great lord might be armed with almost autocratic authority, but if his men were dependent on him, he was even more dependent on his men, who practically were endowed, not merely with labour-right, but with tenant-right also. The village in effect resembled a commune. There was a large tract of pasture open to all. Each labourer held from nine to thirteen acres of arable land, subject only to the condition of working two days out of the six on the lord's lands, and taking his turn at watch and ward in the castle

—no great hardship, inasmuch as the little community needed that fortress as a place of refuge should the wild Welsh descend suddenly from the mountains. If a man was unable to put in his two days per week of work, he might compound by a money payment, or by so much honey for the lord's mead-wine. The community further contained a smith and a tailor. Fuel was to be had from the forests, and game and venison when the lord had gone, as often happened, to the wars. Courts Baron settled disputes and punished crime. Above all, the men enjoyed fixity of labour with fixity of tenure, and on the easiest of terms. If you contrast such a state of things with the lot of the rural labourer in the twentieth century, it will become evident that the much-reviled feudal system, after the harsh reign of the Norman Barons had ceased, so far from being a curse to the toiler of the field, was based on the principle, *jus suum cuique*, and, indeed, almost idyllic in its perfection. But that is not all. From Normandy had been imported the monastic system, and, even if themselves self-indulgent when by their rule they should have been ascetic, the monks, as a matter of conscience, made their abbeys a cornucopia of charity. No poor law was needed or dreamt of prior to the wreckage of the religious houses by Bluebeard Henry, and the charges levelled against the monasteries were evoked mainly by the jealousy of the hungry secular clergy. Incrimination and recrimination between these opposite classes of ecclesiastics conduced to the washing of the Church's dirty linen in public, and paved the way for the religious revolution of the sixteenth century. It was as gross an exaggeration to style a few parochial clergy living in community "a stye of secular canons," as was the retort discourteous of the seculars on the regulars, crystallised in the familiar quatrain of terrible satire:—

Meum est propositum in tabernâ mori,
Vinum et appositum sitienti ori,
Ut dicunt quum venerint angelorum chori,
Deus sit propitius isti potatori!

which may be freely rendered:—

> Mine be the happy lot beneath a tavern's roof to die,
> In front of me a flagon to slake the very dry,
> That so the angel-chorus (*i.e.*, the monks) incontinent may cry,
> "God bless the soul that leaves us wine to all eternity!"

The Juvenals of the Middle Ages indulged in coarse invective, and perhaps the most vehement among them hailed from Herefordshire and its borders, *e.g.*, Langland, author of "Piers Ploughman," Walter Map of Wormesley, and Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of Brecon. It was the latter who placed in the mouth of Bishop Goliath, a roystering Friar Tuck, the above Latin jingle; and one cannot but detect in conjunction with a pure zeal for religion a certain "secular" animus, all of which furnished, later on, convincing arguments for King Henry's commissioners. We remark, moreover, that whereas the Norman Barons had founded and supported monasteries, their successors were generally at variance with them—not so much because of scandals as of encroachments. It would be unrighteous to belittle the transcendent services of the religious orders, alike to religion and to civilisation, because of their gradual degeneracy in the long efflux of time. The ideal, for example, of the Puritan St. Bernard was as exalted as—albeit on more pragmatical lines—that of John Wesley. The debt England owes to the great Benedictine Order has never been adequately acknowledged; and regarding the Middle Ages by the vivid light of modern research, we are the less surprised at the miraculous flash that illumined prejudiced old Cobbett, when he exclaimed, in a vein of ludicrous simplicity, "I tell you, the builders of those cathedrals could not have been savages!" Indeed, there may have been more truth in Kingsley's lines on Squire and Parson of the early Victorian era than in the diatribes of Walter Map on the mediæval monks.

Herefordshire, too, bore a noble part in the glorious victories which demonstrated the superiority of the English,

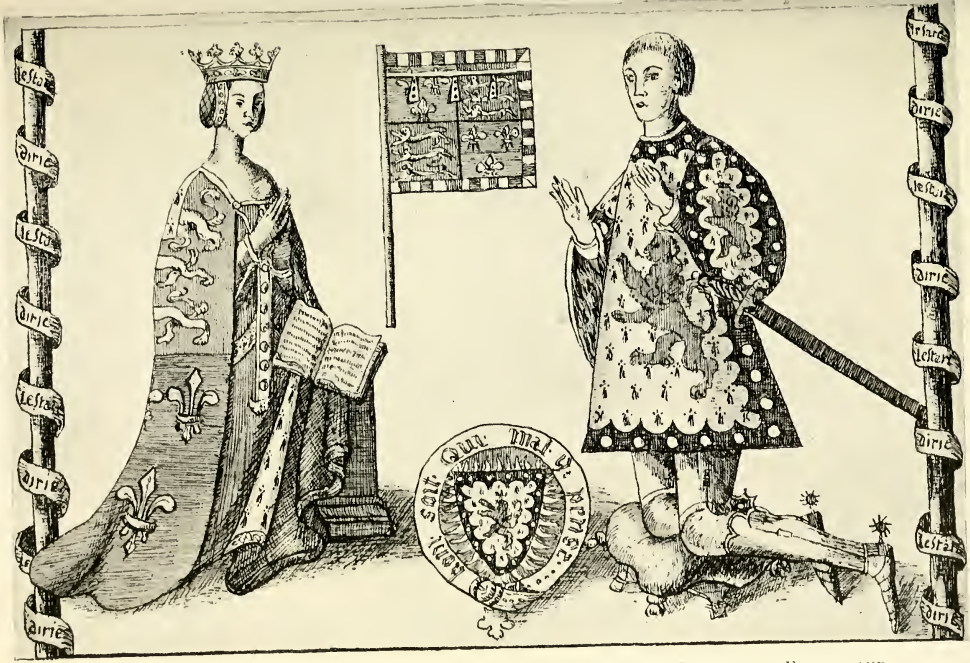
man for man, to the French. When Napoleon, at Waterloo, beheld the spectacle of the Chiltern and Cotswold lads, forming the Oxfordshire regiment, crushing in hand-to-hand combat the invincible Old Guard, he ingeminated, "*Toujours le même depuis Crêcy!*" It was at Agincourt, however, that the Shire won its grandest laurels. The second in command was a Cornewall of Stepleton Castle —where for two centuries after the trophies[1] of Agincourt remained—and Burford. For services in France he was created in open Parliament Lord Fanhope, whence Drayton's stirring lines in *The Polyolbion* concerning the *mêleé* at Agincourt:—

Warwick in blood did wade,
Oxford the foe invade,
And cruel slaughter made.
Still as they ran up,
Suffolk his axe did ply,
Beaumont and Willoughby
Bare them right doughtily,
Ferrers and Fanhope.

Lord Fanhope had wedded a princess of the blood royal, who, when he was a mere knight, had been fascinated by his prowess at a tournament. That he won his coronet by merit of a high order may be inferred from his having been left in command of the English army of occupation in France. Among the Herefordshire knights who shone on the field of Agincourt, Sir Rowland Lenthall must be mentioned as second only to the great Cornewall. He returned home so laden with spoils as to have been able to erect in Hampton Court the grandest mansion of Herefordshire and, indeed, of the West Country.

Prior to Agincourt, the county had been the theatre of the last great Welsh raid—that of Owen Glendower, a descendant of Prince Llewellyn. Smarting under injury,

[1] These trophies when Stepleton Castle fell were removed to Burford Church, and eventually sold to a blacksmith, who used a helmet as a vehicle for carrying ashes. None remain.


Dirie
Testa
Dirie
Testa
Dirie
Testa

that heroic chieftain raised the ancient standard of Wales, the Red Dragon, at Corwen. To that revered symbol the Principality flocked, and in him found a leader as capable and as elusive as De Wet. For fifteen long years did Owen render the county an Aceldama, and it needed all the innate military genius of Prince Hal to finally crush this chivalrous, if ruthless, filibuster. That he would have won the mastery of the West of England amounts to a certainty, had it not been for the chain of Norman castles. But he seriously impoverished a land wherewith he was closely connected, his daughters having wedded Scudamore of Kentchurch, Croft of Croft Castle, and Monnington of Monnington. It remains to be told how, as an aged and a broken man in disguise, he found an asylum in Kentchurch Court, where Owen Glendower's Tower still stands as his memorial; and how his last resting-place was at Monnington.

The great battle of Mortimer's Cross—a picturesque spot subtending the Lugg, and near the beautiful village of Aymestrey and the Mortimers' splendid castle of Wigmore, the eyrie of eagles, whence they had often swooped down to annihilate their foes—may be said to have ended the Wars of the Roses, while from henceforward the feuds became religious, with, for final arbiter, the sword. Lollardry had already obtained a local habitation and a name in the county, but the spread of the new learning was gradual, and the people themselves by no means enamoured of change. The Church might need a moral upraising, but very few dreamt of impugning her doctrine or of abolishing her ritual. A ballad writer of an earlier period affirmed that the laity pay more attention to the lives than to the doctrine of their teachers. On the very eve of the Reformation a belief in the miracle-working of the shrines of SS. Ethelbert and Cantilupe, the one of Marden, the other of Hereford, prevailed. Although, according to the high authority of Canon Phillott, the feeling of the people in the Diocese of

Hereford was adverse to the reformed religion, as indeed may be inferred from the support given Queen Mary by the men of Leominster, there were among the gentry those who, during the great spoliations of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. eagerly stooped to profit by the plunder of the Church. The chief mover in the suppression of the religious houses of the Shire was a Scudamore, and in the list of Edward's Commissioners we find Sir George Cornewall and Thomas Dansey of Brinsop; while among those who were enriched by the purchase of Church lands at a merely nominal price were the Harleys. Nor was it monasteries only that suffered loss: the Parish Churches also were deprived even of their Communion plate to such an extent that there survive only two pre-Reformation chalices—one at Leominster, the other, of great beauty, at Bacton—this latter owing to the benevolent offices of Blanche Parry, Queen Elizabeth's nurse, a portion of this good lady's embroidered dress for many years serving as an altar-cloth for that church.

Wholesale sacrilege did not apparently benefit religion. Although with the Reformers the sermon was the ergon of Divine service, sacraments and liturgies being the merest parerga, it remains on record that in twenty-four churches in one Hundred, that of Weobley, no sermon was preached for many years during the later years of Elizabeth and the commencement of the reign of James I. It may be that owing to this laxity the lecturers, who were home missioners and at the same time strong Calvinists, found favour. Prior to the Civil War there were but few of them in the county, and to this circumstance may be attributed the generally loyal attitude of the gentry. True, Harley represented Puritanism as much as Herefordshire, and was himself an active iconoclast, but at the outset constituencies who sent to Parliament men opposed to ship money and the Star Chamber, or as in North Herefordshire to the proposal to enclose Malvern Chase—a highly unpopular measure—were not in sympathy with

revolution. Taking a rough estimate, we find that in the main the northern portion of the county supplied the more active partisans for the Parliament, the south mostly standing true to the King. But there were exceptions. Bennet Hoskyns sided with the Parliament, as also Reed of Lugwardine, a descendant of the Carmarthen Rhudds, who migrated to Breedon, where almshouses perpetuate their memory, and were co-heirs of the Barony of Beauchamp of Powyke. Scudamore of Kentchurch, again, took opposite sides to his cousins of Holme Lacey, who, in the person of Viscount Scudamore and his brother Barnabas, the sturdy defender of the city of Hereford, displayed a superb loyalty.

Among the gentlemen of the Shire who espoused the cause of the Parliament were Devereux, Earl of Essex, Sir Robert Harley, Sir John Brydges, Sir Richard Hopton, Sir Edward Powell of Pengethly, Sir John Kyrle, the bastard Thomas Baskerville, Robert Mynors, John Pateshall, Henry Vaughan, two Scudamores, and William Littleton. The partisans of the King were men of more positive influence, comprising, in addition to the loyal Scudamores of Holme Lacey, Croft of Croft Castle, Pye of the Mynd, Fitzwilliam and Humphrey Conyngsby of Hampton Court, Baskerville of Eardisley Castle, Woodhouse of Woodhouse, Brabazon, Lingen, Rudhall, Seaborne, Tomkyns of Monnington, Aubrey of Clehonger, Barneby, Berrington of Bishopstone, Cornewall of Berrington—Cornewall of Burford was a "Parliament man," according to Lady Harley—Dansey of Brinsop, Lochard of Canon Pyon, Vaughan of Moccas, and others. In the City of Hereford the two Parliamentarians of note were Dr. Bridstocke Harford, whose son represented that constituency in the Cavalier Parliament, and Silas Taylor, afterwards governor, the musical Puritan.

To employ a Parliamentary colloquialism, very many on either side "wobbled," while we find often enough a

house divided against a house. Besides the divided Cornewalls and Scudamores, if Sir Richard Hopton was for the Parliament, Colonel Edward Hopton fought for the King. The Kyrles, again, were consistent in their inconsistency, and a clear majority of those who took up arms against the King, like Massey, after the murder of Whitehall, repented—albeit too late. They, at all events, saved their estates, whereas the Royalists, clergy and laity alike, sank to a condition of destitution. It may be not uninteresting to record the greatest sufferers of all, the Roman Catholics of the Shire, whose sin of loyalty had been multiplied indefinitely by fidelity to conscience. The list, indeed, may be termed a roll of honour, unless we are prepared to disavow as an impossible ideal the principle of toleration. The lands of the following gentry—Royalist recusants—were first sequestered, and then sold:—

Addis of Lyde;
Berrington of Bishopstone;
Bodenham of Rotherwas;
Bradford of Garnstone;
Goodyear of Leinthal Starkes;
Gwatkin of Llangarren;
Garnons of Garnons;
Harper of Amberley;
Kemble of Welsh Newton;
Blount of Orleton;
Harper of Tillington;
Jones of Stockton;
Loope of Garway;
Monnington of Sarnesfield;
Moore of Burghope;
Street of Gattertop;
Wigmore of Fownhope;
Scudamore of Treworgan;

altogether representing about a tenth of the acreage of the county.

The Civil War itself belongs to the domain of history, and so far as Herefordshire was concerned consisted of a bewildering series of skirmishes, varied by the sturdy defence of the City, to be followed by its occupation after a successful stratagem, and the pitiful and purposeless wanderings of King Charles on the Welsh Border, to whose credit be it related that it contained even among the neediest no Judas. The invasion of the Scotch under Leven led to no grander result than their appreciation of Hereford cyder and Herefordshire loot; indeed, the exactions of either party, particularly of Prince Rupert, very soon rendered the war abominable. "Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi" describes the situation, until at last the iron despotism of a detested dictator was acquiesced in from sheer weariness. Nevertheless, as often happens when military operations lack the dramatic element, certain episodes redeemed the story of the war in the Shire from comparative squalor. Chief among these stands forth the splendid defence of Brampton Bryan Castle by Brilliana, wife of Harley, the Member for the County, who was amusing himself at Westminster in smashing the ornaments of the London churches. So engrossing was this occupation to his iconoclastic soul that he left the duty of defending his crenelated home to a noble wife, concerning whom it may be said that she merited a truer lord and a more manly husband. She has been wrongfully styled "Lady Brilliana Harley." The daughter of Viscount Conway, she would be correctly written either Hon. Brilliana, Lady Harley, or Hon. Lady Harley. Nomenclature apart, this glorious woman proved one of the staunchest among the heroines of the Civil War. Her husband may have infected her with his own fanatical zeal; she shines, however, in a clearer and brighter light. Throughout a long and tense siege, which cost her life itself, this bravest of her sex had but one word in answer to gallant besiegers, who almost implored her to surrender: "My lord bids me hold out!"

Her portrait is that of a lady *pur sang*, delicate, refined, with a sweet oval face and an intelligent, lustrous eye; the mouth kind and happy, yet firm; the figure slight; the carriage that of a proud and self-reliant nature.

She was not the only lady who stood a siege in this cruel struggle. The Countess of Derby, a French aristocrat, Blanche, Lady Arundel of Wardour, Lady Wintour, Lady Bankes, all proved their mettle, and will live as long as English history; yet is there a special pathos attaching to the gentle defender of Brampton Bryan. Her letters add a singular lustre to her memory. Now she writes to her son, an Oxford undergraduate, who became an officer in the Parliamentarian army, with all the tenderness of a fond mother, pointing none the less to the calls of duty; now to the same youth when wounded; now to an unworthy husband, in whom she reposed supreme confidence. Under her very eyes, Brampton village was destroyed, its church burnt, the park devastated. Her spirit never faltered. Still she "held the fort" until death relieved her. Chivalrous Lord Hertford refused to attack the lady. Herbert had no such scruples. Vavasour tried to coax her; and when she died, her neighbour Lingen held the command with twelve hundred men to her one hundred. Yet, in the midst of this sore tribulation, she could write to her son to tell his father, "I will be willing to doo what he would hauve me doo."

War is war, but we must admit that the beautiful and brave lady met with rare courtesy from her foes. On the side of the Roundheads the quality of mercy was strained to emptiness. Of this we have an instance in the butchery of the venerable Mr. Pralph, Rector of Tarrington. For fifty long years he had served acceptably the church of the parish; his hair was silvern, yet being between eighty and ninety he passed for a hale man. Walking by St. Edith's well, on the edge of his parish, he found himself confronted by a troop of Massey's horse. To

their challenge he replied that he was for "God and the King," whereupon they shot him, not, indeed, dead, but to die of hæmorrhage by the road-side. Rupert *en revanche* shot a Puritan minister—an act that stained the Cavalier cause, and did but bring about reprisals.

The exigencies of space compel us to leave the black record of the Civil War, with its interminable catalogue of wrong and robbery, wreckage and ruin. Those of the Norman castles which had survived the wear of centuries were either destroyed or slighted, *i.e.*, dismantled, in many cases so effectually as to reduce them to ruin. Thus fell to decay the Cornewall's castles of Stepleton and Burford, under the mere process of slighting. Hampton Court and Treago, Kentchurch, Kynnersley, and Knill, with Lord Biddulph's early Jacobean mansion at Ledbury, remain to give a faint idea of the glories of Herefordshire prior to the devastating wave of a fanaticism which thought to win its own ideal of the kingdom of God on earth by the sword of the Ironside in lieu of by the sword of the Spirit. As has been well said, when the King came to his own again, he came to another and a different England. He was welcomed right heartily in the West, where his adventure at Boscobel had got to be regarded as a special intervention of Providence. But to repair the ravages of the war was financially impossible. One of the governors of Hereford, Sir William Russell of Strensham, had offered his life, if thereby he might save the City of Worcester, and only escaped the claws of vindictive Rainsborough by the magnanimous intervention of Fairfax. He had been reduced from affluence to extreme poverty; yet all the recompense he received consisted in the restoration of his lands. The Roman Catholics of Monmouth and Herefordshire, who had suffered more than other Cavaliers, too soon were rewarded for their splendid loyalty by persecution under the scare caused by the wholesale lying of Titus Oates, whence it happened that the City of Hereford witnessed the last "religious" murder of an

innocent man perpetrated on English soil. Religion, in truth, had ceased to be a motive power, and whereas in ancient days the Shire furnished a Fair Rosamund to be the *chére amie* of a King, it was now to provide the merry monarch with another, whom he remembered with his dying breath. Of all the King's mistresses, Nell Gwynne, for her large heart, her open hand, and piquant tongue, alone atoned, so far as is possible, for frivolity and frailty.

With the Deliverer and the Georges came a long spell of re-action after the excitement of Civil War. The princely Chandos, a scion of the ancient house of Brugge, which, by an alliance with the family of Sollars, is said to have given its name to Bridge Sollars, flitted across the social stage with something like tinsel splendour. The Harleys annexed the title of the proud De Veres, and the Devereux, as premier Viscounts, recalled the loftier memories of Plantagenet days, before the Adonis of their race descended to be the toy of a vain Queen, whose legitimacy was open to dispute, and before, also, the equivocal hero of Edgehill. The Conyngsbys, who reigned in Hampton Court as successors to the Lenthalls for two centuries, by failure of male issue were followed by the Capels. In the course of time, Jockey of Norfolk, the highly festive, inherited the Scudamores' Palace of Holme Lacy, to be succeeded by the more decorous Stanhopes. The Barony of Burford collapsed, and Berrington, the home of the Cavalier Cornewalls, was aliened to the great Lord Rodney, their blood, nevertheless, continuing at Moccas. Lord Bateman found a home at Shobdon; Lord Somers converted Castleditch into Eastnor Castle; and in the reign of Dutch William the Worcestershire Foleys built in the then prevailing style their splendid mansion at Stoke Edith. The Cotterells, having inherited the estates of the Giers—a Jacobean family, famed for culture and hospitality—erected Garnons. Knill remains with the

Walshams; Treago with the Mynors; Canon Frome with the Hoptons; Rotherwas still is associated with the name of Bodenham; Much Marcle with that of Kyrle; Bredenbury with Barneby; Pengethly with the Symonds, successors of the Powells; while, in the female line, a Hereford still occupies Sufton Court. Other mansions once associated with ancient names have passed in the natural evolution of things to the magnates of trade and commerce—among them, Staunton-on-Arrow, Kynnersley, Garnstone, Credenhill, Burghill, Bryngwyn, Foxley, Eaton Bishop, and, quite recently, Berrington. "The old order ceaseth, giving place to new," and the new blood imports the grace of gold to an impoverished Shire. It seems, nevertheless, desirable that some reverence were displayed for antiquity. After the really æsthetic and exquisite old manor house of brick and timber, with its mediæval or Jacobean carving, has been discarded in favour of the grandiose castle or hall—the *chef d'œuvre* of some empirical architect—then the true and the beautiful gets to be despised. Quantity, not quality, becomes the object of admiration, and the dear old "Court," one among the vanishing treasures of the Shire, is suffered to sink into decay and squalor, to be demolished instead of restored. It remains on record that the son of the antiquary, Duncumb, destroyed the half-timber mediæval priest's house at Kenchester, adorned with priceless carving, including the dragon of St. Michael. Not only are the gems of architecture neglected or, as in Weobley, defaced, but positively a crusade has been initiated against ancient churchyard yews. Perhaps the new blood is too essentially utilitarian and Philistine to have opened "In Memoriam"—otherwise one might think that Tennyson's reverent apostrophe to "The Old Yew," and its strange symbolism, might have melted the soul of a stone.

Gladstone, in a more than usually happy vein, affirmed that the history of England is written in her churches—

he might have added churchyards. That of Herefordshire especially so, for the churches and churchyards give in fragments the history of the families which have made the Shire from the earliest dawn of civilization. Hither, because of æsthetic associations, were attracted such sweet singers as Wordsworth to Brinsop, Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Ledbury, Frances R. Havergal to Upton Bishop. The Shire itself has not been prolific of genius. Traherne, the Cromwellian poet, Rector of Credenhill; Garrick; Sir F. Ouseley, composer and pious founder, but Herefordshire by tenure only, not by birth; Phillips, the "water poet" and panegyrist of cyder, who, again, was Herefordshire by association only with "Gier's Marsh" and its nectar—such are the few literary names that recur to memory. Although born and bred amid surroundings of beauty, the people seem to be severely practical for the most part, and withal endowed with a more than common equipment of homely virtues. After all, it was Athens, not Arcadia, that gave birth to the immortals; and if William Shakespeare had never wandered from his home to Oxford and London, England would not now boast the greatest dramatist of the wide world. Nevertheless, as an eminent sculptor said of the Yazor valley, *the scene grows upon one.* A tender old land spreads her strong magic for sons and daughters to confess:—

The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground, yea, I have a goodly heritage.

Truly the landscape, the purple blue, the wealth of spreading woods, the grace of winding streams, all the *coup d'œuil*, belong to all, and of the feast of form and colour all are sharers. Thus might it be said of Herefordshire and its denizens, high and humble alike:—

Beati, sua si bona nôrint!

COMPTON READE.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL FROM THE PALACE GROUNDS.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

By the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford, D.D., F.S.A.

IT would be difficult to assign a date to the foundation of the See of Hereford, for it seems to be of greater antiquity than is recorded in history. We have, however, every reason to believe that it is one of the very few bishoprics which have descended almost without interruption from the first establishment of Christianity in our island until the present day. Heylin considered it the most ancient in England; and it is "so neare to Wales, that it hath bred doubt in Paulus Jovius and some other, whether it ought to be accompted parcel of the same or within Inglande. But it is well inoughe understand to us that dwell in Inglande, that theare be but four bishops' sees in Wales, whereof Hereford is none."

Archbishop Usher observes that the See of Hereford was originally subject to the Archbishop of Caerleon, afterwards of St. David's, in 544 A.D.; and that a Bishop of Hereford was one of the seven British prelates who attended the ecclesiastical convention summoned by Augustine of Canterbury on the borders of the West Saxon kingdom in 601 A.D.

One of the earliest and also one of the most eminent of those who held the office of bishop in this country was Dubricius. He was born, says the legend, under miraculous circumstances, and was rescued, with his mother, from drowning in the Wye at Madley, six miles from Hereford.

He established a college at Hentland, five miles from Ross, and gathered round him during the seven years that he presided over the college as many as two thousand clerical persons from all parts of Britain.

He removed from Hentland to another place on the Wye, now known as Moccas, twelve miles north-west of Hereford, where he erected an oratory and carried on a course of preaching and instruction, enlightening the British nation with his doctrine. He became Bishop of the whole of this district about the year 470. Among other acts attributed to Dubricius was the coronation of King Arthur at Cirencester, A.D. 506.

Dubricius was succeeded at Caerleon by Dewi or David, who removed the See to Menevia (now called St. David's) as a measure of safety against the advance of Saxon power.

At the famous meeting of St. Augustine with the seven Bishops of the old Celtic or British Church at Aust Clift, on the banks of the Severn, when Augustine, alleging his commission from the Apostolic See, required submission and obedience from the British Bishops, the answer given to Augustine's requirements of submission was short and decisive: "We will do none of these things." And they added: "We will not have you for Archbishop"; for they considered among themselves: "If he would not now rise up to receive us courteously, how much more will he look down upon us as not worthy of consideration if we should acknowledge ourselves as subject to his authority?"—whereby they showed themselves independent of the supremacy of the Romish See.

In 673 a Synod was held at Heortford by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, when it was decreed that the Mercian dominions should be divided into several new dioceses, and Putta, Bishop of Rochester, was translated to Hereford. From this period the ecclesiastical government of Hereford became virtually Saxon, and from Putta the regular series of prelates is preserved.

Bede remarks that Bishop Putta assisted in teaching and disseminating throughout England those ancient Gregorian tones which Augustine had introduced from Rome. Of the early Saxon Bishops of Hereford the most distinguished was Cuthbert, who was translated to Canterbury A.D. 740.

In 793 an event happened which brought the Cathedral into the general notice of Christendom, and of which various versions are given, more or less accurate and surrounded by strange legends, by William of Malmesbury, Matt. Westminster, and others, the chief circumstances being to the effect that Offa, King of the Mercians, had invited Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, to his palace at South Town or Sutton, about three miles from Hereford, and had agreed on conditions of marriage between his daughter Alfrida and Ethelbert. For some reason which is not explained, Queen Quendreda, soon after King Ethelbert's arrival, had him treacherously murdered, some say in order that she might procure for the family the accession of a new kingdom. The King's body, by order of Offa, was privately buried at Marden, where a well is said to have miraculously sprung up, which to this day is called St. Ethelbert's Well. The body was soon after removed to the church at Hereford, to which King Offa, in testimony of his repentance for the evil deeds of himself and spouse, gave many rich gifts, and also erected a magnificent tomb to his memory.

In further expiation of this murder, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and afterwards built the Abbey of St. Albans. His Queen, within three months after the commission of the foul deed, ended her days in misery. Egfrid, their son, for whose advantage the murder was supposed to have been committed, died prematurely; and their daughter, in deep sorrow for the terrible crime, devoted herself to perpetual virginity in the place which became afterwards the site of St. Guthlac's Monastery at Croyland.

Ethelbert, the young celibate victim, was converted into a martyr and a saint. The tomb containing the royal remains became the resort of multitudes from all parts, owing to the reports of wonder-working miracles wrought therefrom, and much wealth was poured into the coffers of the Church.

Amongst others who were attracted to the sacred shrine was Milfred, a Mercian viceroy under Egbert. He, about the year 825, either greatly augmented or totally rebuilt the church with stone, "*structura lapidea.*" It, however, fell into decay in less than two centuries, and was rebuilt, under Edward the Confessor, by Bishop Athelstan, who filled the See from 1015 to 1055. At the time of his death or the following year, Algar, Earl of Chester, assisted by Gryffyth, Prince of Wales, utterly destroyed the church (together with a great portion of the city), and it lay desolate for some five and twenty years, when Robert Lozinga or de Lorraine soon after his consecration commenced the building of a new Cathedral. According to Malmesbury, he rebuilt the Church after the pattern of one built by Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This Bishop Robert was a man of great and varied talents—a philosopher, astrologer, and architect—but, withal, of a superstitious nature, for when invited by Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, to assist at the dedication of the Cathedral, he excused himself by saying the stars were not propitious. It is probable that his work was the splendid existing choir, with the exception of the clerestory, also the north and south transepts. He laid the first stone of the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Gloucester, and it was during his episcopate that the Church of St. Peter at Hereford was built by Walter de Lacy. He was a close and intimate friend of the great and noble Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, who died 1095, and whose obit is recorded in the Hereford Service Book.

The work thus begun was carried on by Bishop Raynelm (1107-1115), who may have built the nave, which was completed, so far as the Norman work is concerned, by Bishop Robert de Bethune (1131-1148), formerly Prior of Llanthony, who probably erected the west front and the Norman portion of the great central tower. Bishop Robert was reputed a wise, just, and devout prelate, highly esteemed in the Church generally; but these virtues did not exempt him from troublous days, for during the contentions between Stephen and the Empress Maud for the throne, the country was almost devastated by the warlike adherents of the contending parties, and Hereford suffered greatly in consequence. The Bishop took the side of Stephen, whose brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, was his intimate friend. In the early days of the Civil War, the City and Castle of Hereford were seized and held for a time for the Empress, but after a siege of four or five weeks the Castle was captured by Stephen, who celebrated his victory by attending Mass in the Cathedral on Whit Sunday (A.D. 1138), wearing the crown on his head, and sitting, so it is said, in the ancient chair still to be seen in the choir. The following year Bishop Robert consecrated as Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, Gilbert Ffolliot, a monk of Cluny, who was Prior of Llanthony, and destined to be his own successor at Hereford.

In the same year the army of the Empress, under Milo, the Constable of Gloucester, who had deserted the side of Stephen, again attacked Hereford, and having seized the Cathedral, used it as a fortress from which to besiege the Castle. The clergy were driven out, the interior of the church was used as a stable, and the tower as a platform for throwing missiles upon the enemy. When Stephen was made prisoner, and the Empress became for a time sovereign of England, she rewarded Milo by making him Earl of Hereford. Bishop Robert was present at Winchester on the day on which the Queen

was accepted there by the bishops and clergy, and having returned to Hereford he purified the Cathedral and restored the services. But his troubles were not yet over, for in order to raise money to pay his soldiers, Milo laid a tax on the churches in his Earldom, and included the Bishop in his assessment. He found in him, however, a determined opponent, who boldly resisted his unlawful demands, and at last threatened him with excommunication.

In the midst of all the turmoil, the Earl met his death by a chance shot at a hunting party near the Abbey of Flaxley, in the Forest of Dean, at the building of which Bishop Robert had assisted only three years before.

His powerful enemy removed, and order somewhat restored in the diocese, Bishop Robert resumed his work of piety and munificence, which had been interrupted by the Civil War, and among them the great one of completing the fabric of the Cathedral.

On the death of Robert de Bethune, he was succeeded in the See of Hereford by his great friend, Gilbert the Abbot, who, notwithstanding his caustic remark, concerning the promotion of Thomas á Becket to the throne of Canterbury, viz., that "the King had wrought a miracle, for he had turned a soldier into a priest, and a layman into an archbishop," yet assisted at the consecration of that prelate, and also as Bishop of London preached in Canterbury on the memorable occasion of Henry II. doing penance.

Bishop Gilbert obtained from the Pope the restoration of the four prebends which had been appropriated by his predecessor to the Church of Llanthony Secunda. On his being transferred to the See of London, he was succeeded at Hereford by Robert of Maledon or de Melun, who had also been a Prior of Llanthony. He was present at the meeting between Becket and the King at Northampton, and joined Bishop Ffolliot in his attempt to wrest the Archbishop's cross from his hands.

From 1186 to 1199 the See was filled by William de Vere, third son of Aubrey, created by Henry II. Earl of Oxford. He began a great work of alteration in the Cathedral, for he removed the apsidal terminations at the east end of the choir and side aisles built by Robert de Loraine, and formed a processional aisle and erected chapels. In the north and south walls of the vestibule of the Ladye Chapel may be seen two beautiful transition windows, only discovered about sixty years ago during the restoration of the eastern portion of the Cathedral.

Bishop de Vere was followed by Giles de Braose or Bruce, son of William de Braose, Lord of Brecknock, who had large possessions in the Welsh marches. His episcopate coincided very nearly with the reign of King John, to whom he was a conspicuous and determined opponent. When the interdict was proclaimed, March 24th, A.D. 1208, Bishop de Braose, with many other bishops, thought it prudent to retire to the Continent; but in 1213, when the King made his first act of submission to the papal legate, the Bishop returned from his banishment, and took part in the ceremony of reconciliation performed by Archbishop Lanfranc. Although always in opposition to the King, he does not appear to have been present when the great charter was signed. His monument is on the north side of the choir, and from the fact of his having the model of a church in his hand, it has been supposed that he was the builder of the western tower, which, however, was of a much later date.

The beautiful Ladye Chapel, with its rich clusters of shafts in the window jambs and quintet lancet or pointed windows, together with the lofty crypt beneath, was probably erected during the middle of the thirteenth century, when Hugh Ffolliot, the founder of St. Katharine's Hospital at Ledbury, was Bishop.

During the next hundred years the alterations that were made in the Cathedral were evidently prompted by a desire to get rid of the "dim religious light"—so marked

a feature of the old Norman buildings; and one of the first attempts in this direction was the substitution in the choir of the Gothic clerestory with inner arcade for the Norman work.

The appointments of Henry III. of foreigners to high places gave great offence to native Englishmen. Among the most unpopular was that of Peter d'Aquablanca to the Bishopric of Hereford in 1239. He was a Savoyard of low origin, and ignorant of the Welsh and English language, but managed to endow his relatives with benefices, his nephew being Dean of the Cathedral. For some time he stood high in his master's favour, the King making him his treasurer, and consulting him on all State matters; and he in his turn served his royal master well, raising loans from the clergy and religious houses for the benefit of the King and Pope. However, on one occasion it appears that Henry III., coming with Prince Edward to Hereford to take orders for disposing of the garrisons in the marches of Wales, found neither Bishop nor Dean, nor any officials, to exercise any spiritual function and duty. Whereupon he wrote a letter dated, Hereford, June 5th, 1263, commanding the Bishop "forthwith to repair to his church, and that if he did not so, he willed him to know for a certainty that he would take into his hands all the temporal goods belonging to the barony of the same, which his progenitors gave and bestowed for spiritual exercises therein with a godly devotion." . . . The letter had the desired effect, and the Bishop returned to his See; but Simon de Montfort soon after seized the prelate in his Cathedral, took from him all his goods, and imprisoned him at Eardisley Castle, where he died, a miserable leper. One of the finest of the numerous episcopal monuments is that of Bishop Aquablanca, situated between the north choir aisle and the north transept, and it is probable that the remarkable north transept was erected about the same time, the old Norman work being pulled down.

In the north aisle of the north transept, in close proximity to the tomb of Aquablanca, is the monument which once contained the shrine of Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, the rival in saintly honours and post-mortem-miraculous-bestowing gifts of St. Ethelbert. He was a son of William, Lord Cantilupe, and Millicent, Countess of Essex. His great-uncle was Walter, Bishop of Worcester, and when, as a child, Thomas was asked by his uncle what profession he would choose, he replied that he would like to be a soldier. "Then," answered his uncle, "sweetheart, thou shalt be a soldier, to serve the King of kings, and fight under the banner of the glorious martyr St. Thomas." His life, as written by his biographer, is full of romance and exaggerated saintliness. From childhood to death he is represented as pure perfection, and given up to acts of piety; yet, for all that, he seems to have been a great pluralist, as he held the varied offices of Chancellor of England, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Canonries at York, Lichfield, London, and Hereford; he was Archdeacon of Coventry and Stafford, and lastly Bishop of Hereford.

He appears to have been mixed up with not a few political intrigues, for it was when engaged in one of these that, returning from Rome, he was seized with a serious illness, and died at Monte Fiascone, in Tuscany, August 25th, 1282. His remains were interred for a time in the Church of St. Severus, near Florence; but his bones having been separated from the flesh were afterwards carried to England, and deposited in Hereford Cathedral, whilst his heart was inurned at Ashridge, Bucks.

Twenty-five years after his decease, a Commission was appointed, at the instance of his great friend and secretary, Swinfield, to inquire into the alleged miracles; and he was canonised by Pope John XXII., and is the last English saint in the calendar of the Church. The ancient

chronicler, Matthew of Westminster, makes the number of miracles wrought through the intercession of this saint to be one hundred and three.

He was succeeded as Bishop by his friend, Richard Swinfield, who, probably with the great amount of money obtained from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine of St. Thomas of Hereford, made many changes in the Cathedral, for he is said to have rebuilt the central tower on Norman piers, rebuilt the north-east transept, and rebuilt the aisles of the nave, improving the light by the insertion of large windows all round the Church. The west tower was also probably erected at this time, and a Gothic window substituted for the Norman, which, it is to be feared, led to the disastrous consequences which followed later on. The household roll of this Bishop for the year 1289 is preserved at Stanford Court, and has been published by the Camden Society. It is interesting as illustrating the manners and customs and expenditure of that age.

It was in Bishop Swinfield's time that the famous "Mappa Mundi"—now placed in the south aisle of the choir—came into the possession of the Chapter. The designer, Richard de Haldingham, was treasurer of Lincoln in 1275, and in 1305 a prebendary of Hereford. Much has been written respecting its history and contents by some of the most learned geographers of the day. Up to recent years we had boasted of our map as the most ancient one of its size known, but a rival has appeared in one discovered at Ebstorf, near Hanover, in 1833, a full account of which has been published by Dr. Conrad Miller, of Stutgard, who also describes the Hereford map. An interesting article on "New Light of some Mediæval Maps," by Mr. Raymond Beazley, appeared a few years ago in the *Geographical Journal*. These maps are monuments at once of great artistic skill and of erroneous notions about geography prevalent in those days. An

excellent account of the Hereford map has been written by Archdeacon Bevan and the late Canon Phillott.

During the fifteenth century Bishop Stanbury erected the beautiful chantry chapel in the north aisle of the choir. He also gave out of the palace garden land for building a habitation for the vicars choral. He was a Carmelite friar at Oxford, and was chosen by King Henry VI. to be his own confessor and the first provost of Eton. He attended the King during the Civil Wars, and with him was taken prisoner at the battle of Northampton, and confined for some time in Warwick Castle.

The only other chantry chapel is that founded by Bishop Audley, who was first Bishop of Rochester, and then of Hereford, 1492, whence he was translated to Salisbury in 1502. The chantry is on the south side of the Ladye Chapel and is in two stories, the upper one used, no doubt, as an oratory by the Bishop himself to offer his devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas, which in those days was in the Ladye Chapel, from which place it was removed to the north transept.

There is a fine monument on the south side of the choir, near the effigy of St. Ethelbert, to the memory of Bishop Richard Mayhew (1504-1516), who was the first regular president of the new college of St. Mary Magdalen at Oxford. He must, in that capacity, have become acquainted with the young scholar from Ipswich, Thomas Wolsey, who was destined to rise to such a great position in the country. Amongst one of the latter's earliest preferments was the Deanery of Hereford, which was held by him for a few months, while the president of his former college was Bishop.

The last great work of the pre-Reformation builders was the handsome outer porch on the north side, built by Bishop Charles Booth.

From that time forward for two hundred and fifty years little was done for the beautifying of the Cathedral.

Whatever was done was in bad taste, and tended rather to the injury than to the restoration of the fabric.

In 1645, Hereford had to endure the evils of a long siege and the usual misfortunes resulting therefrom, for the Scots, under Lord Leven, erected numerous batteries, and began to fire from the south side of the river, doing much damage to the Cathedral, Palace, and Chapter-house, the latter of which, a noble and elegant structure, was almost entirely destroyed. The Dean at this time was Herbert Croft, who afterwards became Bishop. He was taken prisoner, but was allowed to preach in the Cathedral, and, being a fearless man, hesitated not to reprove the conduct of Parliament and their army from the pulpit, so that on one occasion he irritated the soldiers to such a pitch by showing them the heinous nature of rebellion and sacrilege, that they levelled their muskets at him in the pulpit, and were with great difficulty restrained by Colonel Birch from firing.

Bishop Croft belonged to the ancient and noble family of Croft Castle in this county, the head of which was Sir William Croft, an energetic loyalist, who fell in an unsuccessful attempt to recover Stokesay Castle a short time before the battle of Naseby. The family is still represented by Sir Herbert Archer Croft, of Lugwardine.

In 1686, the organ was built by Renatus Harris, and no doubt at the same time the organ loft was erected over "the massive stone screen occupying the space between the north-west and south-west piers of the tower." The effect of this close stone screen, surmounted by the organ, which rose to a great altitude, was to entirely sever the nave from the rest of the Church, and, as it were, effectually to partition off the choir and its aisles from the nave, the two arches at the western termination being closed up with stone work and massive doors. During the episcopate of Bishop Bisse (1713-1721) a ponderous Grecian altar-screen was erected, thereby completely shutting out the Ladye Chapel with its vestibule

from the choir. Thus we have the grand and imposing Cathedral of the mediæval ages cut up into three lengths. Bishop Bisse also finished the demolition of the ancient chapter house, using the stone for additions to his palace. The north transept was, in 1796, fitted up as a church for the use of the parish of St. John the Baptist. The "style" of the period was closely followed, *i.e.*, there was a lofty pulpit with crimson curtains *en suite*, pews—large, high, and painted—a gallery, etc. Moreover, every bit of stone work and vaulting was coated with whitewash and ochre to a great thickness, and ashlar, mouldings, arches, and mullions were cut and hacked[1] in every direction by the erection of monuments of the bad taste of the time.

We have yet to notice the greatest catastrophe that had befallen the church since its utter ruin under Algar and Gryffyth. In the last year of the episcopacy of Lord James Beauclerk, who had occupied the See for forty years, on Easter Monday, 1786, the west tower, which had long shown unmistakable signs of decay, fell, bringing down with it a considerable portion of the upper part of the nave and roof, and destroying two tiers of arches on each side, together with the lateral aisles. An architect was selected to repair the loss, James Wyatt, who had already been busy at Salisbury with irreparable deeds of vandalism. He began his work on the west end in 1788, and carried it on until 1797. A large sum was spent on the nave, western end, and central tower, and work was done in a most injudicious manner, Wyatt shortening the nave by fifteen feet, and erecting a new west front on "a neat Gothic pattern," shallow, meaningless, and insipid, removing also all the Norman work above the nave arcade, and substituting a feeble design of his own, which led to a critic observing that "the

[1] A small brass disappeared at this period, to be replaced by Prebendary Havergal. It is to the memory of Bridstock Harford, M.P. for Hereford in the Cavalier Parliament, with his wife, sister to Sir Compton Reade, Bart.

Cathedral was only in ruins in 1786; it was not ruined until Wyatt had done with it." The old spire was taken down from the central tower, and in order to give it apparent height, the roofs of both nave and choir were lowered in the pitch, and the parapet was raised.

From 1797 to 1841 little was done in the way of renovation, and it was then found that the venerable building stood much in need of thorough restoration, and a complete repair of the Cathedral was undertaken. No less than £27,000 was spent in restoring the most dilapidated parts, and no one at that time devoted more loving care or untiring energy to the work than Dean Merewether. "Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this House to lie waste?" he quotes at the beginning of his exhaustive *Statement of the Condition and Circumstances of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in the year* 1841. In this statement he shows the lamentable state of decay in the eastern end of the Ladye Chapel, the bulging of its walls, and the dangerous fissures which, on the removal of whitewash and plaster, became visible in the soffit of the arches of each window.

To him and to Dean Dawes we owe a deep debt of gratitude for their exertions in connection with the restoration of the ancient Cathedral. Had it not been for the prompt measures taken by the former, under the direction of Professor Willis, there seems to be little doubt but that a far greater calamity would have occurred than even that which was caused by the fall of the western tower, viz., the collapse of the massive central tower and the fall of the east wall of the Ladye Chapel.

Under Mr. L. N. Cottingham (the architect employed by the Dean and Chapter) many improvements were made, though it cannot be said that all the work he did was good either in design or execution. The beautiful lantern of the central tower, with its fifty-six shafts, was satisfactorily strengthened and thrown open to view. At

the time of Dean Merewether's death in 1850 much still remained to be done, and in 1857 a further scheme was set going by Dean Richard Dawes, with Mr. (afterwards Sir Gilbert) Scott, who restored the north transept, the north porch, the choir, and the Ladye Chapel, which was fitted up as a church for the use of parishioners of St. John the Baptist's parish. Altogether, in these two works of restoration, about £45,000 was expended, and the Cathedral was re-opened for service on June 30th, 1863.

1267973

During the next thirty years little beyond necessary repair was done to the fabric, but in 1897 a new building was erected after designs of the late Sir Arthur Blomfield, A.R.A., with a legacy bequeathed by the late Canon Powell, of Hinton Court, the object being to provide a suitable home for the chained manuscripts and other valuable ancient volumes belonging to the Cathedral. The old library is supposed to have been formerly on the same site. On the west cloister being pulled down in the sixteenth century, the books were stored in what is now known as the Ladye Chapel; in 1842 they were transferred to a room in the Vicars' College; and thence in 1856 to an old archive chamber above the aisle of the north transept, so that until recently few persons were aware of this interesting and valuable collection. Originally there were about two thousand volumes, all chained; now there are two hundred manuscripts in the original bookcases, with chains attached, besides many other valuable works chained in a similar manner. Among the many manuscripts and old printed volumes may be mentioned the four Gospels in Latin, ninth century, said to have been bequeathed by the last Anglo-Saxon Bishop, Ethelstan; this has coloured initial letters, with the runic knot and intertwined animals, similar to the remarkable manuscript found in the Durham Gospels and the Book of Kells; a beautiful manuscript, in fine preservation, written upon stout vellum, about

the twelfth century, with a spirited composition, in which the Saviour is represented sitting supported by angels; at the foot are figures of two priests looking upwards in an attitude of adoration; a copy of the celebrated *Hereford Use* of the thirteenth century, with kalendar containing the obits celebrated in the Church of Hereford; a copy of Wycliffe's Bible, written *circ.* 1400; the *Bangor Use*, 1400; the *Decreta Gratiani*, with numerous initials, executed with great skill (twelfth century); and many other richly illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; also a curious document (*circ.* 1200), entitled *Panormia, or Latin Dictionary*, by Claudian Osbert, a monk of Gloucester Abbey, dedicated to Hamelin, sixth Abbot of Gloucester, probably a unique copy of his chief work. This volume belonged to the Cistercians of Abbeydore.

Of "Incunabula," or fifteenth century printed books, there are many good examples, the earliest being *Summarium textuale et conclusiones super sextum* (1462); *Donati Commentarius in Terentis Comedias*, printed by John Mentelin of Strasbourgh, 1472; *Nonius Marcellus* (1476), printed by Nicholas Jansen at Venice; the *Nuremburg Chronicle* (1493); *Laburda super Clementenis* (1488), with a remarkable ink drawing of the Crucifixion pasted in the cover, and evidently a work of the thirteenth century; *Ptolomori Geographia* (1486), an atlas, with highly-coloured maps; Latin Bible and Commentary, five volumes, folio, by Nicolas de Lyra (1485); *Polycronycon*, by Ralph Heyden, with additions by Caxton (1495); *Breydenbachii Perigrinatio, etc.* (1490); *The Golden Legend*, printed by Caxton, first edition (1483), in splendid condition, the original binding, metal work, and chain.

The new library building was opened by Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, April 30th, 1897. The upper chamber is used for the ancient chained books, whilst the lower part is utilised as a modern library and place

of meeting for the benefit of the clergy and others in the city and diocese.

On May 13th, 1902, an entirely new window at the west end of the Cathedral, to the memory of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, which had been erected by the contributions of upwards of eight thousand women of the County and Diocese, was unveiled by H.R.H. Princess Henry of Battenberg. The stone tracery was designed by Mr. Oldrid Scott, F.S.A., and the stained glass was designed and executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell.

On examination by the builders (Messrs. Thompson, of Peterborough) of the centre and two side pinnacles, it was found that they were in such a dangerous condition, owing to the injury done by the earthquake of 1896, that it was determined to take them down at once, and to replace them by pinnacles designed by Mr. O. Scott, and at the same time to carry out the stone work of the gable. The accomplishment of this work led on to the consideration of the necessity of completing the rebuilding of the whole west front of the Cathedral. This, accordingly, has been done so far that the façade of the nave has been completed, and is a grand piece of architecture in the fourteenth century style of decorated Gothic, elaborately adorned with statues and beautiful carving, the whole being in harmony with the fine central tower and other parts of the Cathedral. This portion of the work was opened and dedicated by Dr. Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, March 25th, 1904. There still remains the completion of the west end, the renewal of the fronts of the north and south aisles, with massive turrets at the north-west and south-west corners, when Wyatt's unsightly structure will be replaced by a magnificent façade worthy of the ancient and historic edifice.

JAMES WENTWORTH LEIGH.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF VICARS CHORAL, HEREFORD.

By the Rev. Custos Duncombe.

IN 1717 a book was published, believed, on good authority, to have been by Dr. Rawlinson, of the Middle Temple, on "Matters concerning the College of Vicars Choral of Hereford," in which he says, "concerning the condition and plan of the College buildings," page 52, *et seq:*

South-eastward of this Church is a pile of buildings, in the form of a quadrangle, appropriated to the Custos and twelve Vicars Choral (of whom the Custos was one); by whom founded or to whom dedicated I *cannot find*, if not to the honour of S. John Baptist, which seems to be insinuated by an Image that stood over the entrance but now removed. This place seems to have been coeval with the church, and was not improbably founded at the same time. In the cloisters is a small chapel made use of for a monthly sermon, and over it is a Library, in the window of which are several mangled inscriptions and images.

Then follows a description, in which one of the windows is described as containing a figure of the Virgin bearing the child Christ in her arms—the common seal of the College. He also mentions a book containing a list of benefactors, which he appends. He mentions also a Hall with a device over it, which was afterwards placed more appropriately over the garden; also the cloister leading to the Cathedral, containing memorials of deceased vicars. He further states (page 68) that a part of the College revenue

Cloisters of the College of Vicars-Choral, Hereford.

was derived from impropriation of the great tithes of Westbury-on-Severn, of which, also, they had (and still have) the advowson, and that these were granted in the fourth year of Richard II. Dingley, in his *Monuments in Marble*, describes the College, and adds that it consists of twelve vicars, all in orders, whereof Mr. Richard Cox (1684) is custos; that they are a corporation for "setting and letting lands"; and that they live in community, like the colleges at the Universities.

He also says that he cannot learn by any of the collegians who was the founder thereof. "Some," he says, "guess it to be Bishop Reinelme," who, in the reign of Henry I., founded that beautiful Cathedral Church, whose successors enlarged it by adjoining thereto a proper College for Priests. He then goes on to describe the College Library, etc., much as Rawlinson does. There are also further descriptive particulars about the library and buildings in the Addenda to Dingley, added, probably, by the Editor, J. G. Nichols, in 1868, who says: "The buildings of the College must have been highly curious till disturbed by injudicious reconstruction within the last fifty years." Probably a good deal was done in the re-arrangement of rooms, etc., after the fire in 1828, and in allowing married members to reside in College, and doing away with the common table.

There seems, therefore, no means of ascertaining the date of the first creation of a body of Vicars Choral previous to the charter of Richard II. in 1396 (the nineteenth year of his reign). Nichols mentions that the Vicars, after the Elizabethan charter of 1583 (under which they now exist and hold their lands and other rights and privileges), "for more than a century occasionally received strangers into their College." The custom was abolished in 1689, but resumed in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The last instance of anything of the kind was the Venerable Archdeacon Freer, in the nineteenth century (somewhere in the fifties), who was

granted rooms in College; but as there was then no common table, the privilege of sharing that could not be granted. These honorary members were called commoners, had to pay a certain caution money, and get a Vicar to act as their surety, and were granted the right of having rooms in College, and having meals at the common table—of course, on paying their share. Some of the most distinguished commoners or "commenials" are mentioned in Duncumb's *Herefordshire*, Vol. I., p. 589.

But although the exact date of the creation of a body of musical priests or vicars cannot *now* be ascertained, the fact of the existence of such cannot be doubted, from the very fact of a charter being granted to consolidate them, as it were, and to put them on an unassailable and legal footing. There was also a college building, where they resided previous to the present building, and that building was in Castle Street, where now the Chapter Clerk's house and offices are, and where are still remains of their chapel and common room. It was to save them the going to and fro to the night services in all weathers that Bishop Stanbury granted them the land on which their college and garden now stand; and the former was completed somewhere early in the episcopate of his successor, Bishop Milling—it is believed in 1475. Bishop Stanbury deceased in 1474; he contributed half the expense of building.

It has been suggested (and not without reason) that some sort of a musical corporation of ecclesiastics existed before the Norman Conquest, and before there was a Dean and Chapter. Support to this view is given by what Professor Stokes, of Dublin, says in his *Ireland and the Norman Church*. At page 358 he writes:—

But I shall not delay you too long with the Culdees, for we have much of the same ground to go over. I must, however, call your attention to one other place where some traces of the Culdee system remain to the present day. Ussher, writing in the 15th chapter of his *Antiquities of*

the British Churches, tells us, that within his own memory the Presbyters who *served in the choir* and *celebrated Divine offices* in the churches of Armagh and Clones were called *Culdees*. Acting on this hint, Dr. Reeves, in his essay, traces the Culdees of Armagh all through the ages which elapsed from the Synod of Kells to the Reformation. In the thirteenth century a Dean and Chapter were introduced at Armagh, *according to the Anglo-Norman fashion, no such officials having been known in Ireland previously*. But the Culdees of Armagh were continued in a modified shape. The chief or prior was made *precentor of the Cathedral, and the Culdees were constituted the vicars choral*. In that shape they survived to the Reformation, as Ussher testifies, and were incorporated by Charles I. *as a body corporate*, and had all their ancient estates confirmed to them. [Exactly what happened in the time of Elizabeth to the vicars choral of Hereford by her granting them a renewed charter.] As such, concludes Stokes, they withstood even the shock of disestablishment; and I believe that in some way or other, thanks to the ancient Culdee endowments and charters, the vicars choral or Culdees of Armagh are still the best endowed musical corporation in Ireland.

The same as regards endowment may be said of the Vicars Choral of Hereford in England.

W. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, in his *Historical Account of Church Government* (1684), mentions analogous cases in Scotland and Ireland (the latter being that of Armagh before described by Stokes), adding, as regards Armagh:—

> Bishop Ussher hath also a Pope's Breve, past in the year 1447, that the priory of the College of *secular priests*, called Colidei, was not a benefice but a simple office and sinecure.

He also states that in 1445 the Archbishop decreed that the office of these transmuted Culdees was "not to be accounted a cure of souls, but that one might hold a benefice with one of these offices provided that he kept due residence in the Church of Armagh."

This is not unlike the provision in the Caroline Statutes of Hereford, that a Vicar Choral could not hold, with his vicarage, a benefice situate further off from the Cathedral than six miles, so that he could still act as Vicar Choral. This was acted on till the sixties in the last century, since when it has become a dead letter, as

neither Dean nor Bishop will present to a benefice to be held by a Vicar Choral at such a distance. The Scotch example given by Bishop Lloyd is that of St. Andrew's, where, previous to 1297, the Culdees had occupied the place of a Dean and Chapter; but on their opposing the election of Bishop Lauberton, the Pope approved the election, and the Culdees lost the right they had before; and in their place Canons Regular were instituted, and made the Dean and Chapter for the future.

Now, reasoning from analogy, does it not seem very probable, to say the least, that something of this kind took place at a very early period in what became the Diocese of Hereford, especially as this part of Mercia was so very Celtic, as shewn by so many Welsh names of places in the district? This district (now Rural Deanery) of Archenfield was, even after the Conquest, much more Welsh than English. Welsh-speaking priests were sent by the Conqueror on an embassy to Wales at the time of the Domesday Survey; and in an Act of Parliament in 1563 for translating the Bible into Welsh, the Bishop of Hereford is charged to see that copies be placed in churches in places where Welsh was spoken in his diocese. Putta, who is commonly reputed, but on more than doubtful authority, the first Bishop of Hereford, was undoubtedly (according to the testimony of Bede) a great musician for his time, skilled in Gregorian music, was first made Bishop of Rochester, and after it had been burned by the King of Mercia left Rochester, and retired to Mercia. Being a man of peace, and unfitted for coping with those troublous times, he found refuge with Ceadda (or Chad), Bishop of Lichfield, and it is so far probable, as he would not return to Rochester, that he exercised *occasional* episcopal functions in Hereford diocese; as we are told by Bede that he passed his days in peace, doing *service* to the Church in other ways, especially in giving instruction in music where requested. What more

likely than that, under his instruction, a body of musical priests sprang up in what became shortly after the Diocese of Hereford? No chronicler near his own time mentions him as Bishop of Hereford, though, probably, from his having previously been consecrated Bishop of Rochester, the erroneous idea arose, when he transferred himself to the western kingdom, that he was a bishop there also.

No definite organization taking place (as far as we have any record) during the disturbed period immediately after the Conquest, we come to the pious and able Bishop Reynelme, consecrated in 1107. This bishop carried on the work of the Norman Cathedral begun by Bishop Losinga, and there is also a consensus of authorities that he reduced to a more complete system the establishment of canons or prebendaries living under a rule not so strict as monks, and with separate residences adjoining the church. We do know that there was no *Dean* till 1140, in the time of another distinguished and able Bishop, Robert de Bethune, a still greater man than Reynelme. He completed the fabric of the Cathedral, founded the Deanery in 1140, and more completely organized the Cathedral body of ecclesiastics, including, no doubt, the Vicars Choral.

So that we should not probably be far wrong if we suppose the germ, so to speak, of a body or corporation of Vicars Choral to have originated in the musical instructions and propaganda of Putta; that this grew and took more definite shape, till by the time of Bethune's episcopate there was some definite organization of the Vicars Choral, which organization had acquired property and status, and was completed and dignified and rendered stable by the charter of Richard II. in 1396, creating them a corporate College, with a common seal and the style of "Custos & Vicars," retained to this day.

It would seem that the corporation had suffered loss or, at least, was in danger of so doing, to a serious extent,

through the abuse of commissions which were obtained against churches and corporations for "concealments" (whatever these may have meant), and so in 1586 Lord Burghley stated that "Her majestie is pleased to confirm unto the vicars choral of the Church of Hereford the graunt of their landes which hath been sought by divers greedie persons to have been gotten from them as concealed." This, doubtless, was brought about by the charter granted by Elizabeth in 1583, which remains till now as the great title deed of the possessions and rights of the corporation.

The next important legislation was in the revised statutes drawn up in the reign of Charles I., whereby, together with the Consuetudines (a record of ancient customs), the Cathedral corporations and the Hospital of St. Ethelbert have been governed more or less to our own times; though not a few of those statutes have become obsolete or a dead letter, though unrepealed, principally owing to the Act of 1840, which reduced the numbers of cathedral bodies, especially of the *minor* corporations in the old foundations, there being a provision whereby the numbers in these corporations were not to be "less than four or more than six," and consequently it was held that the Hereford College was reduced to a maximum of six. However, as the proper formal steps for reducing the numbers and re-adjusting the emoluments had not been taken, as in the case of certain other old foundations (*e.g.*, St. Paul's), it was a moot point whether twelve was not *still* the legal number; and the threat has been held out on both sides in recent litigations (as recent as the end of the last century) of filling up the College again to twelve. The first threat was in the time of Dean Merewether, when, on the College having fallen into a state of inefficiency, owing to vacancies not being filled up and the advanced age of some of the surviving members, the Dean and Chapter required the College to admit new members up to the number of twelve. This

they resolutely declined to do, on the ground of its having become illegal by the Act of 1840 to exceed the number of six. The Dean and Chapter (for whatever reason) did not succeed in compelling the College to be filled up to twelve, which looks as if, by one of the anomalies of English law, that though the Act of 1840 had (according to their view) been thoroughly carried out at St. Paul's, yet there was not sufficient power to enforce a return to the old system of a choir of clerks in Holy Orders. So a compromise was effected for the good of the musical service by the appointment of six *lay clerks* to sing in the services and anthems. This threat of filling up the College was repeated in view of recent litigations up to the end of the nineteenth century by the Dean and Chapter on one side and by one of the Vicars Choral on the other. Dean Dawes introduced also the employment of volunteer singers to strengthen the choir on Sundays and other occasions when a stronger choir was wanted. An attempt was made, owing to the representations of certain Vicars, aided by Dr. Jebb and Sir Fred Ouseley, to revert to a clerical choir of men in Holy Orders, and to get rid of lay singers in the choir, by the so-called "statutes" or "injunctions" of 1870, agreed on by the two corporations, and approved or ratified by Bishop Atlay as visitor. These modifications of the old statutes were not rendered invulnerable by Act of Parliament, the chief mistake or flaw in them being that inequality was introduced within the corporation of the College of Vicars, whereby the two junior or Diddlebury Vicars were not to share in the College division of revenue, but to have a fixed stipend, about half the average income of the four senior minor Canons, and also to do a double share of attendance. This system was not found to work well: it produced a good deal of friction within the College, and it was found very difficult to procure a steady supply for keeping up the seven clerical assistants outside the College from want of sufficient preferment and clerical employment;

and so things drifted back to the employment of lay clerks, of which there were seven at the same salaries as the clerical assistants had been paid, and the same large amount of time off duty. These defects, after harassing litigation in the early part of the last decade of the nineteenth century, led to the virtual exploding of the 1870 statutes, as the two Diddlebury Vicars, by the judgment of Mr. Justice Charles, won back their right to equal share in division of revenue. Further litigation took place respecting the share of the Diddlebury Vicars in the duties of their office, in which it was contended that the four minor Canons of Lyra and Cormeille alone were responsible for the chanting of the prayers. In this they were not so successful. But matters continued in a most unsatisfactory state, as one of the Diddlebury Vicars refused to contribute anything to the maintenance of the seven laymen singers, as being an unstatutable charge, and insisted on his full sixth of revenue.

About this time, one of these Diddlebury Vicars was preferred to a Dean and Chapter living, and his vacancy was not filled up; and not long after, one of the minor Canons failing in voice and health, retired, and the College now being reduced to four, and after protracted negotiations, a concordat was effected between the two corporations, whereby two more lay clerks were to be provided by the Vicars, raising their maintenance of lay clerks to eight, in addition to one provided by the Dean and Chapter.

The singing in the anthems and services was no longer to be obligatory on the four remaining clergy, and they were to be re-instated in their proper place in the stalls, of which they had been deprived for many years owing to a series of bungles on both sides, but chiefly due to Sir Gilbert Scott's shortening of the choir, and so depriving it of the proper number of stalls, and the mixing up of a lay and clerical choir, due to the injunctions of 1870, as before mentioned. The Vicars also were to give an

increase as regards maintenance of choristers; so that now their contribution to the choral establishment amounts to £850, besides the old statutable contribution to the organist's stipend.

We may note, in conclusion, as to the matter of numbers, that *before* Elizabeth's charter there were twenty-six Vicars, and in 1637, besides the twelve Vicars, four sub-Canons, making a choir of sixteen adults, so that there has been considerable fluctuation in this respect.

According to ancient custom, which lasted on to the earlier half of the nineteenth century, a Vicar was appointed by the Dean and Chapter, but not straight off, so to speak. He was only a probationer for a year, and if at the end of that time the Custos and Vicars reported unfavourably of him to the Dean and Chapter, he was not "perpetuated," as it was termed; if otherwise, he was formally admitted and sworn in duly as a member of the College. This custom of probation, however, was dropped about the middle of the nineteenth century, since when the Dean and Chapter appoint permanently, if the candidate satisfies the requirements of the ancient statute as to voice and skill in music, and he is also considered, on the whole, as the most desirable of those applying for the appointment. The succentor (a vicar choral) and organist and any other vicars who wish, are present as assessors, with the organist, on these occasions, and so also on occasion of choosing lay clerks and choristers. How far this custom and modified compliance with ancient statute will in future be observed in appointing minor canons under the present arrangement, whereby it is no longer obligatory to sing, except the priest's part in the prayers and suffrages, remains to be seen. But at some foundations where now it is *not* obligatory for the minor canons to sing as well as chant, it is (or was till very recently, as at Windsor) customary to test them in church music, singing from note, etc. At Hereford, it is

quite correct that, according to custom and charter, the four minor or "*petty*" canons (for the two Diddlebury Vicars were also regarded in the Elizabethan charter as minor, but *not* petty canons, which was the appellation reserved for the minor Canons 1 and 2 De Lyra and 1 and 2 De Cormeille) were responsible for the prayers, as before said, and they seem to have enjoyed a certain precedence.

These four minor Canons had four separate estates or corpora, besides their share of the division of College revenues. So, too, had the Diddlebury Vicars, and these six corpora continued to the present day; but the separate corpora which the other Vicars had in connection with certain parishes or altars as Mass priests, such as the vicarages of St. Agnes, Philip Hayes, Cawkbridge, were merged in the common division, and became thus what were called void vicarages, their emoluments, which differed much in value, being, after the 1840 Act, assigned to no particular individuals, on the reduction of the College to six; and so *now* that there are no Diddlebury Vicars or Minor Canons, only the corpora of the four minor Canons De Lyra and De Cormeille remain. The Diddlebury vicarages were founded by Bishop Maidenstone in the thirteenth century for helping the maintenance of two priests, two deacons, and two sub-deacons in the choral establishment of the Cathedral.

The four minor or petty canonries of De Lyra and Cormeille deserve further and more particular consideration. There can be no doubt that these four vicars represented, after the Norman Conquest, the two powerful and important Abbeys of De Lyra and Cormeille in Normandy. Berry, in his *Cyclopædia of Heraldry*, in a long, exhaustive article on the office of Earl Marshal (now hereditary in the Duke of Norfolk's family), says that the office was created by William I. shortly after the Conquest. The office was then shared by William FitzOsbern and Roger de Montgomery, whose advice and influence were a

determining factor in persuading William I. to undertake the conquest of England. These men were rewarded by ample possessions and titles in England. Among other distinctions and gifts, FitzOsbern was made governor of Winchester Castle, and had a grant in fee of the Isle of Wight. He founded the Abbeys of Lyra and Cormeille, and in 1070, having gone to aid the Earl of Hainault to obtain possession of the earldom of Flanders, was slain in battle, and buried in the Abbey of Cormeille. These two abbeys are mentioned in Dugdale's *Monasticon* as having large possessions and dependent religious houses in England. (See Vol. II., pp. 950-985; also the work called *Neustria Pia*, p. 534; also J. Gough's account of the "alien priories"; Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, p. 241; Public Record Office Transcripts, Vol. II., 140D, No. 87, for extracts from Henry II.'s charter restoring and confirming grants to Abbey of Lyra; Maddox' Formulare; Inspeximus Charter of Edward II., Public Record Office, for similar grants to Abbey of Cormeille. These and other documents which might be quoted shew that Lyra possessed the Church of Carisbrook, tithes of Quarr Abbey, and other places in the Isle of Wight, of which FitzOsbern had the grant. The same abbey also had a cell at Hinckley, in Leicestershire; Ocle, in Herefordshire; at Llangwm, in Monmouthshire; a cell of Black Monks subject to it; and the Churches of St. Martin, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. Mary, in Wareham, Dorset.

Cormeille had possessions in Worcestershire; Newent, Gloucestershire, the manor of which was given by King William, at the instance of Montgomery, friend and colleague of FitzOsbern. At Chepstow, the castle of which was begun by FitzOsbern, Cormeille also had a cell. These abbeys had property and cells in Winchester Diocese; Tidenham and Lydney, in Gloucestershire; Marcle, in Herefordshire; King's Caple, Herefordshire; and other places too numerous for mention in England,

chiefly in Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Monmouth Shires.[1]

The four minor canonries of De Lyra and Cormeille were doubtless founded on behalf of the Abbeys of De Lyra and Cormeille, giving them a footing in Hereford Cathedral by their representative Vicars (who would probably act as Mass priests), through the bounty and powerful influence of their founder, FitzOsbern; and so, in all probability, came into existence as the first vicarages of that kind with separate corpora, prior to 1070—the year in which FitzOsbern was slain.

We have said nothing of the period of Church desolation during the reign of the Puritans, after the great Civil War. According to the account in Phillott's history of the Diocese, on the occupation of Hereford after its second siege by Colonel Birch, he used the College for a time as a residence or refuge for mendicants; and Havergal, in his *Fasti*, says that during the Commonwealth the College was in the custody of Colonel Rogers, of Llanvach, Mon.; that no records were kept for seventeen years; the Vicars were put to flight, and suffered great hardships, though some were assisted by the charitable bounty of Lord Scudamore; and that seven Vicars survived to resume their duties after the Restoration.

The *external* fabric, with the exception of the hall (which was rebuilt in the eighteenth century by Dr. Cope) and cloisters, remain much as they were since the fifteenth century; but the *interior* arrangements have undergone many and frequent alterations in later times, as numbers were reduced and married men permitted to live in the

1 The arms of these two abbeys were as follows:—Cormeille (omitting the old French original and translating: Gules, a stag trippant or, unguled azure. De Lyra, *Quarterly*), 1st and 4th Gules, a rose ermine; 2nd and 3rd Gules, five fusils or, three and two, over all an escutcheon azure charged with a lyre or. Authorities: D'Hozier, *Revise de Rouen, Nouvelle Série*, 1849; Vol. III., *Armorial de Normandie*, pp. 635, etc. (obtainable under P P 4370, British Museum). I obtained this information after frequent and fruitless inquiries from the late Julian Marshall, of 13, Belsize Avenue.

College, which was originally adapted for the use of celibates, who dined at a common table. One of the statutes (unrepealed to this day) allowed no female to live in college, except a near relative of a Vicar, and that only in case of illness. This was revived in its stringency against one of the Vicars early in the nineteenth century, and his wife was compelled to turn out, though to do so the Vicars dismissed a female cook before the Dean and Chapter would enforce her withdrawal.

The gateway to the College has a vaulting of so-called fan species, which, when new, must have been very handsome, but is somewhat impaired by age. The cloister connecting the College with the Cathedral has beautifully-carved beams of wood (chestnut, I believe), in good preservation.

A good deal more, doubtless, might have been written, and with more profuse quotations and dates; but it is believed that the foregoing will be found a fair sketch of the history of the College of Vicars Choral in Hereford, and that no salient point of importance has been omitted. In addition to works before named, I have to acknowledge considerable indebtedness to Havergal's *Fasti Herefordenses*, Phillott's *Short History of Hereford Diocese*, and some manuscript information from a learned expert in ancient documents, J. G. Wood, Esq., of New Square, Lincoln's Inn.

W. D. V. DUNCOMBE.

EARLY BRITISH AND ROMAN PERIODS.

By James Davies, of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

HISTORY is almost silent concerning Britain before the fifth century B.C. No such island seems to have been known to Herodotus, but, later, a special mission was despatched from Rome to Marseilles and Narbonne to discover whether trade could be established with the region beyond Gaul. Positive information could not be obtained, but, in consequence, the merchants of Marseilles ventured on a voyage of discovery, accompanied by an eminent mathematician, who was also one of the greatest explorers of those early times. This was Pythias, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great. He is said to have flourished about the year 330 B.C., and it is an historical fact that he sailed from Spain to Brittany, and thence to the Kentish Coast and other parts of Britain. He paid much attention to it, and visited it twice, making many observations. Speaking of the inhabitants, he remarked that he saw plenty of corn in the fields, and that the farmers gathered the sheaves into large barns, in which they threshed out the corn, but that there was so little sun that open threshing-floors, as in more southern latitudes, would have ill sufficed for a land of cloud and rain like Britain.

About two centuries later, another Greek explorer extended his travels to this island, visiting the coast of

Cornwall, where a trade in tin was already carried on. This was Posidonius, with whom Cicero studied at Rhodes. He gave a description of the people, with their method of working tin, and stated that the inhabitants lived in mean dwellings made of wood, and that in harvest they simply cut off the ears of corn, and stored them in pits, from whence they were fetched daily and dressed for food.[1]

The design of the present paper is to consider the localities in the county identified with the ancient Celtic and Roman period, and to offer such historical relations as are necessary to connect the different periods and illustrate the various antiquities of each era.

We will commence by stating, that in the early British period that portion of Herefordshire westward of the river Wye formed a petty government called "Ereinwg," which signifies a pear orchard, although it does not appear from whence this name was derived; but as the apple was a fruit indigenous to the soil, we may conjecture that it was meant to denote a fruitful land. Again, the district lying between the rivers Severn and Wye (the Forest of Dean) was called "Fferreys" or "Ferlys," and remained in the possession of the Britons until the end of the seventh century.

These two petty states of Ereinwg and Fferreys subsisted under the larger kingdom of Siluria, which included the present counties of Radnor, Monmouth, and Glamorgan, in addition to Herefordshire, and was named by the British people "Esyllwg," signifying a fair or open country; while the inhabitants were styled "Gwyr Essyllwg" or "Syllyrwys," a word the Roman conquerors afterwards latinized into Silures.

Tacitus, in alluding to the first inhabitants of Britain, supposes that the Silures sprang from a colony of Iberians, in consequence of the olive tincture of their skin, the

1 In his valuable work on *Celtic Britain* Professor Rhys has dealt exhaustively with this branch of the subject.

natural curl of their hair, and the situation of their country within access by sea to the coast of Spain. It is worthy of remark that the Silures differed in some respect from the inhabitants of the adjoining states, and spoke a distinct dialect; but whether the first settlers came from the coast of Spain or were the descendants of early Celtic colonists seems doubtful. They are described by the Roman historians as being a powerful and warlike people, and also a fierce and obstinate enemy, hence their long resistance to Roman arms.

From the invasion of Julius Cæsar, about 50 B.C., to the arrival, about 60 A.D., of Ostorius Scapula, appointed by the Emperor Claudius to complete the conquest of Britain, the country west of the Severn had remained independent, and it was left to Ostorius to reduce the Silures, with the neighbouring Ordovices—a people northward of the river Teme, occupying the district now forming Salop, Montgomeryshire, and adjoining parts.

The engagement between Ostorius and Caractacus, the Silurian chieftain, marks a crisis in the conquest of Britain. Suffice it that the Romans were victorious, and the British chieftain, his father, Bran, and family, were carried captive to Rome. Of him it is recorded that, when being led through the imperial city, with all its grandeur, he expressed his surprise that people possessed of such magnificence at home could envy him a humble cottage in Britain.

The chief antiquarian remains in this county of the ancient British period are camps which may be found of various sizes and on almost all the loftier eminences. Of these, most appear to have been erected by the Silures prior to the final engagement between Ostorius Scapula and Caractacus. A large camp about two miles from Fownhope, commanding a most extensive view, now bears the name of Caplar—a supposed corruption of Scapula—and another camp on the opposite side of the river Wye at Dinedor was formerly called Oyster or, as some say,

Ostorius Hill. Again, the Herefordshire Beacon displays a camp of British construction, which, from its overwhelming strength and size, would appear to have been more than a mere temporary retreat thrown up during an engagement; and, from its circumvallations, of which three remain still visible, must have been chief of the chain of fortresses erected by the Britons to afford both a convenient refuge and to defend the Silurian territory.

A curious relic of primæval antiquity is an earthwork in the form of a cross in the parish of St. Margaret, which was formerly known amongst the dwellers in that district as the Roman cross. It appears to be of similar construction to one at Margam, in Glamorganshire, described by Mr. Moggridge, of Swansea, at the annual meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Society at Ludlow in the year 1852. These crosses are presumed to have been structures of the early Christians in their endeavour to disseminate the religion of which the cross is the symbol.

The dimensions of the St. Margaret's cross are as follows:—

	Shaft.	Cross-part.
North part . .	29½ yards . .	17½ yards.
South part . .	23½ ,, . .	23 ,,
East part . .	24½ ,, . .	wanting.
West part . .	12½ ,, . .	20 yards.

The embankments forming the cross are four feet high and five feet wide.[1]

The only Druidic relic which our county can boast is that of Arthur Stone, a cromlech on Bredwardine hill, or, as it has been termed by the Topographers of Herefordshire, "Arthur Stone Mountain." This cromlech consisted originally of a large flat oblong stone supported by ten upright pillars, the eastern being narrow and

1 This cross was first brought to notice by the late Mr. Thomas Jenkins, who, being possessed of property in the neighbourhood, contributed an excellent article on the subject in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for the year 1853.

increasing in breadth towards the west, and although now broken and much decayed, appears to have consisted of one stone. The dimensions of this cromlech are as follows:—

Length	18 feet.
Breadth at the widest part . .	12 ,,
Gradually tapering to . . .	3 ,,

Near the centre, where the breadth reaches about ten feet, it is broken through, and one portion has fallen below the other. Five of the pillars have also collapsed, leaving the other five to support two under the upper and three under the lower portion.

The use and symbolism of these cromlechs has much puzzled antiquaries, but it is now considered that they were sepulchral, and denoted the burial-place of some great Celtic chieftain, whose relatives and friends caused this high monument to be erected to mark his last resting-place. Where excavations have been made into similar stone remains, the presence of charcoal, bones, and other evidence of cremation seems to fortify this conclusion.

The name of Arthur is connected with many places, but there is nothing to show why this illustrious hero of romance should have given a title to this particular cromlech, beyond the custom of ascribing to him works of magnitude. This same name is attached to the Maen Cetti in the district of Gower, near Swansea, alluded to in the Triads as one of the three mighty works of the isle of Britain, and there are many places similarly honoured. It may be mentioned that the Rev. Edward Davies, in his *Mythology of the Druids*, endeavours to prove that there was a personage of the name of Arthur who was the Druidic representative of Noah, and that the cromlech was a kind of mystic cell in connection with certain rites commemorative of the traditional account of the Deluge.

The poem of Taliesin called "Preiddeu Anwn," or

"The Spoils of the Deep," which treats of Diluvial mythology, presents Arthur as presiding in a ship which brought himself and seven friends safely to land, while the remainder of the human race was destroyed. It evidently relates to the Deluge, and the Arthur there mentioned was probably another Deucalion or Noah.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Caractacus, the Silurian territory was not then reduced to Roman rule. The warlike spirit of the native chiefs remained unshaken, and after a short repose they renewed the attack upon their enemies, and kept them at bay. Ostorius asserted that the very name of the Silures should be blotted out. This he never saw fulfilled, for he fell a victim to the fatigue and hardships of warfare, and the task of subjugation had to be left to other hands.

During the succeeding twenty years the Romans were unable to reduce this brave people, and it was not until the military prowess of Julius Frontinus compelled them that they relinquished to the Romans the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, and the counties of Hereford and Monmouth, after which they retired into the fastnesses of Wales. This portion of the country was then included in the province afterwards called Britannia Secunda.

Upon the establishment of the Roman province there naturally sprang up military centres, which appear to have been of some importance, and were connected by roads and footways with each other. These were Magna Castra (now Kenchester), Ariconium, Bravinium, and Circutio.

The first was situated about five miles west of Hereford, and is noticed in the itinerary of Antoninus as a point of contact for the roads leading through Herefordshire. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, quaintly remarks:

Kenchester standeth 3 mile or more above Hereford upward on the same side of the river that Hereford doth, yet is almost a mile from the ripe of the Wye. This town is far more ancient than Hereford, and was celebrated in the Roman time, as appeareth by many things, and especially

by unique money of the Cæsars very often found within the town, and in ploughing about the which people there name Dwarfes money.

The cumpass of Kenchester has been by estimation as much as Hereford, except the Castle the whiche at Hereford is very spacious. Pieces of Wall yet appear, and more should have appeared if the people of Hereford Town and other thereabout had not in time past pulled down much and picked out the best for their buildings.

Various Roman relics have from time to time been found here, whereof some are now in the museum of Hereford Free Library.

According to the Itinerary of Antoninus, Magna was situate on the road leading from Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, through Herefordshire and Salop, to Uriconium or Wroxeter—a very important Roman city, destroyed by the Britons soon after the departure of the Romans from this country in the fourth century.

The form of Magna Castra was an irregular hexagon, enclosing about twenty acres within the walls, the outlines of which are still visible. There appear to have been four entrances, connected with the roads leading to the other stations in this county.[1]

The second Roman station within the confines of this county was Ariconium, situate at a place now called Bury Hill, about three miles from Ross, and corresponding with the respective distances from Glevum (Gloucester) and Blestium (Monmouth), mentioned in Iter XIII. of the Antonine Itinerary. Ariconium is there stated to have been thirty-one miles from Isca Silurium, *i.e.*, Caerleon upon Usk and fifteen miles from Glevum. Various Roman antiquities are recorded as having been discovered here in former years, including fibulæ, lamps, rings, and fragments of tesselated pavement, as well as coins of the period of Constantine, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius.

---

1 The only surviving relics of Magna Castra are the capitals of four Doric columns at Credenhill, presumably of the Prætorium, and the Font in Kenchester Church, which consists of the section of a shaft of the said columns, scooped out clumsily to hold water, and standing on a Norman base. This font, therefore, has been termed a paradox—*i.e.*, a font prior to the Christian era.

Phillips, the Jacobean poet, in his poem on cyder, relying upon the statement of Camden that this city was supposed to have been destroyed by an earthquake, writes:—

> With swift descent
> Old Ariconium sinks, and all her tribes
> Heroes and Senators down to the realms
> Of endless night. Meanwhile the loosened winds
> Infuriate, molten rocks and flaming globes
> Hurl'd high above the clouds, till all their force
> Consumed her ravenous jaws the earth satiate clos'd.
> Thus the fair City fell, of which the name
> Survives alone, nor is there found a mark
> Whereby the curious passenger may learn
> Her ample site, save wins and mouldering wins
> And huge unwieldy bones, lasting remains
> Of that gigantic race, which as he breaks
> The clotted glebe, the ploughman haply finds
> Appall'd. Upon that treacherous Tract of land
> She whilom stood, now Ceres in her prime
> Smiles fertile.

An important circumstance in support of this station having been the Ariconium of the Iter is the nomenclature of the surrounding district, *Irchenfield*. In the Anglo-Saxon chronicle it is called *Yrging—a field*—and Geoffrey of Monmouth alludes to it as *Herging* on the river Wye. In Doomsday Book the name is Arcenefield, whilst later writers style it Ariconfield, and it has been held by some authorities that Ariconium was the metropolis of a particular district, which, after the departure of the Romans, formed the British state of Ereinwg or Herging, extending from the Forest of Dean to Moccas on the south side of the river Wye, and so frequently alluded to in early records.

The next Roman station in the county was Bravinium, situated in the north west, near the conflux of the river Clun with the Teme. The exact site has not been agreed upon by antiquaries, but it lay in the parish of Leintwardine, and the evidence shows that it corresponded in

distance with the Iter from Magna to Ariconium, and in the present name of Brandon. There are extant remains of the Roman Watling Street not many miles from this encampment, and as we can discover no other locality in the neighbourhood corresponding with the Iter, Brandon has generally been considered to have been Bravinium. Mentioning it, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his edition of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, remarks that Richard of Cirencester calls Bravinium Branogenium, but he inclines to the former name as mentioned in the Antonine Iter. Although he does not coincide with the opinion which fixes Bravinium at Brandon, yet he admits that from the situation of the Roman Watling Street the station of Bravinium must have been near to that spot.

Although it may be allowed that Brandon was occupied by the Romans upon the occasion of the conquest of the Silures and previously to the last attack, there seems great uncertainty whether this camp was afterwards retained by them. We have, however, sufficient testimony that the Bravinium of Antoninus was situate somewhere in that neighbourhood, but possibly nearer the line of road from Magna to Ariconium, and, as is common with Roman arrangements, in the plain country, and not on a hill.

The similarity of name is a strong feature in support of Brandon, but it appears very doubtful, from its geographical situation as well as its elevated position, that it was any permanent position of the Romans. It may have been temporarily occupied during the war, and that a more convenient locality was selected for the permanent station near the junction of the two rivers the discovery of remains of late years appears to indicate.

There is also slight evidence of another station in Herefordshire. It is not one of those mentioned in the Itinerary, and must have been a place of much less importance than either of the other towns which have been thus sparsely noticed. This would seem to have been a small halting-place on the road between Magna

and Vigornia (Worcester), somewhere near the railway station of Ashperton on the Hereford and Worcester line. Discoveries were made upon the site of this station on the construction of the Herefordshire and Gloucestershire Canal at Stretton Grandison, various Roman remains being thrown up by the workmen. We may, therefore, tentatively locate Circutio at or near that village, the name whereof indicates adjacence to one of the trunk highways formed by the Romans, for these several stations were connected by military roads.

The principal and the only road which is noted in the Itinerary entered Herefordshire from Salop, near Leintwardine, and continued to Bravinium, whence it led to Magna Castra, passing Wigmore, Mortimer's Cross Street, Stretford, and the Portway—the latter names indicating an undoubted Roman origin; and it is worthy of remark that at present a road supposed to have been constructed upon the track of the Roman Portway bears the name of Watling Street. From Magna this road crossed the river Wye at the Weir, five miles from Hereford, and passing from Madley along a road which now bears the name of Stoney Street, led through Kingstone, Abbey Dore, and Longtown, and then, entering Monmouthshire, proceeded to Gobannium or Abergavenny.

In consequence of this causeway being in many places known and visible, Sir R. C. Hoare inferred that it must have been that which connected Gobannium with Magna, and left no doubt of Kenchester being the site of the Magna of the Iter.

A second road connected Magna with Vigornia. Entering Herefordshire at the northern end of the range of Malvern Hills, it then, after passing Froome Hill, proceeded to Circutio, from whence it led by Stretton Grandison to Withington, and so to the foot of Aylestone Hill, about a mile and a half from Hereford. Then, passing through the villages of Holmer and Stretton

Sugwas, it terminated at Magna. A great portion of this road can now be easily traced. It forms the boundary of the city for five or six miles, and has always been known amongst the people as the old Roman road.[1]

A third military way appears to have connected Bravinium with Circutio. This road, however, is not found in the Itinerary of Antoninus, but the author of this paper was indebted for information to a gentleman near whose property it passed, and there seems sufficient evidence to suppose that such a portway existed, and formed a communication between the two before-mentioned stations.

It commenced at Wigmore, and proceeded by Croft, Ashton, to Corner Cop, where was formerly a fortress, and passing a place called the Trumpet, proceeded along a road bearing the name of Blackwardine Lane, upon which was a small Roman station called Blackcaerdun. From Blackwardine it continued to England's Gate, and thence to Stretton Grandison and Circutio.

A fourth road entered Herefordshire on the south-east from Gloucestershire, and connected Glevum with Ariconium, from whence it proceeded to Blestium (Monmouth) and thence to Burrium (Usk). This road traversed a very small portion of the county. The name of Walford, between Ross and Monmouth, would indicate its track.

A fifth road is supposed to have connected Ariconium with Magna, and to have passed by Crow Hill, How Caple, Caplar Wood, Fownhope, Mordiford, Longworth, and Bartestree, to a place called the Black Hole, where it fell into the portway leading from Magna to Vigornia. In Sir R. C. Hoare's *Giraldus Cambrensis* this road is marked as one supposed by him to have existed, although there are few traces of it at the present day.

---

[1] These two Portways can be readily identified on the Ordnance Map, where they are indicated as ancient Portways; indeed, to this invaluable Survey of the Kingdom antiquaries are much indebted for the preservation of many data that would otherwise become lost to record.

A circumstance in connection with the Roman towns and portways in Herefordshire worthy of notice is the existence at the present day of names of Roman origin, many villages bearing the prefix of "Wall," "Stret," and "Stretton," as Walford, Stretford, Stretton Sugwas, Stretton Grandison; whilst the terms "portway" and "strett" which frequently occur indicate the site of the original trackway. It is a useful guide to the archæologist in his researches to observe very precisely places bearing particular Roman names, for it will be frequently found that they are situated upon direct lines of road, and indicate the development of Romanized Britain.

The Roman power in this country continued until the commencement of the fifth century, but the Silures were not long released from subjugation to imperial rule before they were called upon to unite with the other Britons in defence of their land against the Scots, Picts, and Angles from Saxony. Again these brave men distinguished themselves in the field, under the command of Uther Pendragon and Arthur, although during the reign of the latter prince the English did not venture to attack the territory of the Silurian Britons. However, about forty years after his death, by the aid of superior forces, the English were enabled to establish the Kingdom of Mercia upon the frontiers of the Silures, whose territory afterwards became limited in their retreat westward, whereafter, with the other local tribes, they were recognised under the generic name of "Welsh." Although the Anglo-Saxons did not experience much difficulty in conquering the other portions of Britain, they suspended for a time the acquisition of Herefordshire, for it does not appear this county or, indeed, any part westward of the river Severn, was at first included in the Heptarchy, but continued in the possession of the original inhabitants.

There is much of interest during the periods of which this paper treats in the matter of ecclesiastical antiquity, inasmuch as Herefordshire has always been associated

with the early Christianity of Britain. It has been suggested, on the evidence of the Triads, that the family of Caractacus were instrumental in introducing the Gospel to this island, and that this region was amongst the first to enjoy the benefits of the new religion.

The See of Hereford has always been associated with the history of the early British Church. According to Welsh history, Hereford possessed a bishop as early as the sixth century, subject to the metropolitan See of Caerleon-upon-Usk—and this at a period anterior to the mission of Augustine, for at a Synod which he held with the British bishops, a Bishop of Hereford, or, as it was then called, Caerffawydd, was one of the seven prelates who attended.

An interesting incident in connection with the meeting of Augustine and the British bishops may be worth mentioning. The chair on which St. Augustine sat was, according to tradition, preserved at the Church of Stanford Bishop, near to which the meeting took place. That chair got into the possession of Dr. James, of Birmingham, who published a work called *St. Augustine's Chair*. Unhappily, the chair itself now lies in the museum of the City Council of Canterbury, and when the Bishop of Hereford recently applied to that Council to surrender it to Stanford Bishop Church, where it had lain for so many centuries, his request was refused.

It may be noticed, in support of the lingering British Associations of Herefordshire, that many of the parish churches westward of the river Wye appear to have been dedicated to early British saints, such as Clodock St. Margaret, Llandinabo, Llancillo, Llanrothal, Llanveyno, Dewchurch, *i.e.*, the Church of Dewi (David), and others, demonstrating their connection with the ancient British Church. St. Devereux, also, may be mentioned as a transformation of St. Dyfryg or Dubricius, to whom this church was dedicated.

According to the *History of the Diocese of Hereford*,

by the late Rev. Canon Phillott, amongst the seven British bishops who attended the conference of Augustine there appear to have been three connected with the region included in the Diocese of Hereford:—(i.) The Bishop of Llandaff, whose diocese, as late as the twelfth century, comprised the district of Ereinwg or Erging, *i.e.*, Archenfield; (ii.) the Bishop of Treffawydd, or the town of Beech Trees, probably meaning, as the author states, Hereford; (iii.) the Bishop of Weeg—a word representing the British name of the river Wye, *Gwy*—and may be regarded as denoting some place near that river, most likely Hentland or Henllan (the old church), the ancient seat of Dubricius and his brotherhood. Thus the See of Hereford may be said, with little doubt, to have been represented more or less fully at the conference.

The foregoing is only an imperfect sketch of British and Roman periods, but it is hoped its data may prove of sufficient interest to such as are identified by birth, associations, or residence with a Shire whose antiquity yields priority to none other, and whose inhabitants still preserve traces of their Silurian forefathers in a dim past, to which history can assign no limit.

JAMES DAVIES.

THE BORDER CASTLES OF HEREFORDSHIRE

By the Rev. Arthur T. Bannister, M.A.,
Vicar of Ewias Harold.

IF the traveller, fresh from the Rhine or from Normandy, or, indeed, from almost any part of the continent of Europe, compares our English counties with other lands, he will usually be struck with the fewness of castles in England; for at all times, save the nineteen years of anarchy under Stephen, a castle in England was a rare thing. In our favoured country, even through the wildest days of the dark and middle ages, men have lived a more settled and safer life than was possible in other lands. An English lord usually found that a small manor-house, perhaps slightly fortified, served his purpose quite as well as the threatening tower.

In the counties bordering on Wales, however, the case was far different. There, full in view of the Welsh mountains, lay some of the most fertile lands in England —an ever-present temptation to the wild, restless, and ferocious tribes who dwelt beyond the dyke of Offa, in the land called by an old chronicler *hominum nutrix bestialium*. Of these border lands, the richest, and by nature the least protected portion is the county of Hereford. As we should expect, then, Herefordshire is pre-eminently the county of castles, only Northumberland, and for a similar reason, having a like pre-eminence. We meet castles, or the ruins of castles, or, in mound and place-name, the traces of castles, on every side. There

is scarcely a hill-top or point of vantage of any sort, that has not at some time or other been occupied by some defensive work.

These castles were of every shape and size, from stately piles like Wigmore and Goodrich to the smallest fortified farm where the pettiest squire took refuge from the Welsh—like Urishay Castle, a house half mansion, half fortress, such as Scott attributes to Cedric the Saxon. Many even of our Herefordshire churches have something of the appearance of a castle. A curiously massive, squat tower, with walls seven or eight feet thick, practically cut off from the body of the church—such as we find at Ewias Harold and elsewhere—points probably to a time when, on the border, the towers of many parish churches were designed as strongholds in case of need.

It is somewhat difficult to draw the line between a castle and a fortified manor-house, or a house with a Pele-tower, as at Cusop. But we have in Herefordshire traces of over forty buildings which quite certainly are castles; and of these, or some of them, it is our purpose to sketch the origin and history.

Castles, in the ordinary sense of the word, the Anglo-Saxons did not build. The *castellum* mentioned in the older chronicles is probably more of the nature of a walled town than a castle. Yet two of our Herefordshire castles date from before the Conquest. It has been pointed out by Freeman that the Norman Conquest of England really begins with the accession of Edward the Confessor, who was himself a Frenchman in habits, feeling, language, and heart. Chief among the Norman favourites with whom he surrounded himself was his nephew, Ralph, whom, in 1046, he created Earl of the half-independent county of Hereford. Under the rule of the new Earl, Herefordshire became rapidly Normanized; and two of the Frenchmen who flocked after Ralph into the county—Richard, son of Scrob, called in Domesday Scrupe, and "Osbern, surnamed Pentecost"

—built for themselves castles after the Norman model, one in the extreme north of Herefordshire, the other in the outlying district of Ewias. These private fortresses —a thing as yet unknown in England—soon became a centre of all kinds of oppression, "working all the harm and besmear to the king's men thereabouts that they might," as the Peterborough chronicler puts it. The English, hating the French favourites and their foreign castles, supported Godwin in his demand that the oppressors should be banished and their castles dismantled (September, 1052). The castle of Ewias certainly was dismantled, for the entry in Domesday says that Earl William (FitzOsbern) rebuilt it (*refirmavit*). But it would almost seem that Richard's Castle was spared.

After the Conquest, King William placed in command of the Welsh border his nearest personal friend and ablest lieutenant, the William FitzOsbern mentioned before. He, being specially bidden "to be diligent in the work of castle-building," divided the whole countryside into "castelries," organized on the quasi-military system, which characterised the Marches for centuries. It is difficult to say exactly how many of our Herefordshire castles were actually built in the Conqueror's reign. We certainly cannot trust "tradition," which is only too often another name for the inventions of the pedigree-maker, from whose imagination Domesday, for the most part, will save us. But Domesday, usually so pedantically accurate, is peculiarly arbitrary and capricious in its mention of castles (as also of churches). Sometimes a castle is not mentioned in its right place, but comes in casually somewhere else; sometimes a castle (*e.g.*, Dover) known to have been in existence at the time of the Survey is not mentioned at all. Throughout England, Domesday mentions fifty castles and two *domus defensabiles*. Of these, no less than twelve castles—or nearly a quarter of the whole number—are on the Welsh border, seven being reckoned in Herefordshire, as well as both the *domus defensabiles*.

Of these "Herefordshire" castles, however, two are Monmouth and Caerleon, which do not come within the limits of the county as defined in later times (though much of what is now Monmouthshire was reckoned part of Herefordshire as late as the reign of Henry III.).

The other Domesday castles of Herefordshire are (1) CLIFFORD, held by Ralph de Todeni. The entry states that it was built by William FitzOsbern himself, and that it was held directly from the King, in complete independence of the county and hundred. (2) EWIAS (Lacy), built by William FitzOsbern, and held at the time of the Survey by Roger de Laci. (3) WIGEMORE, also built by William FitzOsbern, and held by Ralph de Mortemer. (4) EWIAS (Harold), which William Fitz-Osbern rebuilt (*refirmavit*), held by Alured de Merleberge (Marlborough). (5) AVRETONE or Auretone, which Freeman failed to identify; but Mr. J. Horace Round has cleverly shewn it to be Richard's Castle, which, having no name of its own, is called from the neighbouring village of Orleton, two miles to the south. It was held by Osbern Fitz-Richard. Of his land, or much of it, the entry quaintly says: "It was and is waste. It has never produced any revenue. It lies in the March of Wales. In these waste lands have grown up woods, in which the same Osbern hunts (*venationem exercet*), and thence has what he can catch. Nothing else."[1]

The two *domus defensabiles* of Domesday are (1) HERDESLEGE (Eardisley), which is said to be "in no hundred," and is "in the middle of a certain wood." It is held by Roger de Laci. (2) WALELEGE, a place as yet not identified (possibly Willey, near Presteigne). It is said to be in "Elsedune" hundred, though the Castelry extends also into Stretford and Huntington hundreds. It is held by Gilbert Fitz-Turold.

---

1 In the reign of Edward I. these forests of Northern Herefordshire were thinned by the King's command, *quod tuto transeatur ubi robberiæ fieri solebant.*

What these earliest castles were like is a question difficult to determine. G. T. Clarke holds that the Norman immigrants found ready to their hands the mounds of Anglo-Saxon *burhs*, and crowned them with a keep in stone. Freeman doubts about the mounds being of Anglo-Saxon origin, but agrees that the earliest castles were of stone. The researches of Mr. J. Horace Round, however, make it more than probable that both these views are wrong. His theory is, in brief, that the "castles" first built by the Normans in England were not of stone, but were hillocks of earth, surrounded by a ditch, and crowned by a wooden stockade, and a wooden tower. Attached to these citadels were base-courts or baileys, also surrounded by a ditch. The hillock was, in most cases, artificial, but where a natural hill or rock would serve the purpose it was adapted to the required shape. According to this view, the Anglo-Saxon *burh* was not a mound, but a walled town, resembling much more the *castra* of the Romans than the "castle" of the Normans. *Mottes* or mounds, similar to those said to have been set up by the Anglo-Saxons, still exist in great numbers in Normandy, some as simple earthworks, having lost their wooden stockade, others transformed into mediæval castles by the addition of walls and towers of stone. The word *motte* becomes in the Latin of the chronicles *mota*, which has so often been mis-translated "moat." The Empress Maud, in the charter creating Milo of Gloucester Earl of Hereford, gives to him "the *motte* and castle of Hereford." In the Bayeux tapestry there is a picture of William's troops, after the battle, throwing up a *motte* at Hastings; and the inscription above the picture says: "*Jussit ut foderetur castellum*" ("He commanded a castle to be *digged*"). As disproving a stone keep, we constantly find it recorded, in the earlier years of Norman rule, that such and such a castle was burnt to the ground; and six months afterwards it is mentioned as standing,

and making a defence. This would obviously have been impossible had the castle been of stone.[1]

On the whole, we may take it as proved that, for half a century after the Conquest, the normal type of a castle was a moated mound with a timber palisade, and its base court or bailey also moated and palisaded. Richard's Castle and the castle of Ewias Harold—with the possible exception of Dover, the two earliest Norman castles in England—are very fine specimens of this *motte*-and-bailey type of castle. Gradually, however, the architects and builders of Normandy followed their lords to England, and brought with them the new art of building. We owe to them both minster and castle, both civil and ecclesiastical architecture. And so, during the first half of the twelfth century, the wooden palisading on the mounds of our Domesday castles was replaced by a wall of stone, forming what is called a shell keep. Sometimes—especially where the site of a *motte*-and-bailey castle is not being utilised—a massive square tower of impregnable strength is built, instead of the shell keep, as at Goodrich and Ludlow, and, according to Leland, at Hereford, though Leland is probably wrong. This rectangular keep is said to have originated with Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, who died in 1108. It is probable, however, that the earliest square tower is of somewhat later date.

Besides the castles actually mentioned in Domesday, we know that others existed in our county before the end of the eleventh century. At Kilpeck there was almost certainly a *motte*-and-bailey castle set up in the Conqueror's reign by William Fitz-Norman; but the church

[1] It may be urged against this theory that the Conqueror did undoubtedly build one or two strongholds in stone, notably the Tower of London. But this, which seems, at first sight, fatal to the argument, turns out to be an additional proof of its truth. For why was not the Conqueror's keep called the Castle of London? Simply because it did not conform to the accepted definition of a castle, which was a palisaded mound, a bailey-court, and a ditch. And so, from its first building, men called it, not the Castle, but the Tower of London.

was already built some time before the wooden palisades were replaced by the shell keep of stone. Just outside our county, Ludlow Castle was founded by Roger de Laci certainly within ten years after the Survey. Huntington, judging from its earthworks—*motte*, inner ward, and outer ward, each with ditch complete—dates from early Norman times, though its history is mainly concerned with the Barons' War of 1264, when it was captured, with Hay and Brecon, by Prince Edward. Weobley also was probably in existence before 1100, and certainly before the reign of Stephen, who himself besieged and captured it. Wilton, guarding the ford of the Wye, and Brampton Brian—which derives its celebrity from its defence, in a far later day, by Brilliana Lady Harley—date from the reign of Henry I., very early, that is, in the twelfth century. The "castle" of Hereford, which is referred to as existing in Anglo-Saxon times, was, we may conclude with practical certainty, a *burh* in the sense of a walled town. But before 1140 the town must also have possessed a Norman castle, of the *motte*-and-bailey type; since, as we have seen, the patent of the Empress Maud, dated July 25th of that year, gives to Milo, the newly-created Earl of Hereford, the "*motte* and castle" which, two years before, he had helped William Talbot to hold against King Stephen. The castle was considerably enlarged under Henry III., and became one of the strongest and most important fortresses in the Marches.

It is quite possible that others of our Herefordshire castles date from the close of the eleventh or the early years of the twelfth century. For, in telling of the unsuccessful invasion of Wales by William Rufus in 1097, "when he saw," says the Peterborough chronicler, "that there he could further nothing to his purpose, he came back into this land and took thought that he might let make castles on the border." This was early recognised as the true method of keeping the Welsh in check. The Norman knights and men-at-arms the active moun-

taineers cared nothing for; but of the Norman castles they were genuinely afraid. There is a highly significant passage in the "Brut," in which the Welsh chronicler, telling of a Norman raid which had been driven back, adds that after this, for some time "the folk" (*i.e.*, the Welsh on the border) "stayed in their homes, trusting fearlessly, although the castles were yet whole, and the castle-men in them." It is as if he recognised the true facts of the case, that the Welsh for the moment might stay fearlessly in their homes, but that, as long as the castles stood firm, the Norman hold upon the Border was secure.[1]

Of the multitude of unlicensed castles (*castra adulterina*) built all over England during the turmoil of Stephen's reign, we have at least two examples in our county—Downton (mentioned in the *Gesta Stephani*) and Bredwardine. They were destroyed with the rest of the "adulterine castles" by Henry II. on his accession. According to some accounts, he dismantled no fewer than 1,115 of these castles in all, having to capture some of them by force. Thus Hugh Mortimer refused to surrender Cleobury in Shropshire, and it was only destroyed after being besieged by Henry in person. He also captured, but spared as of older date, two others of the Mortimer castles—Bridgnorth and Wigmore. After this wholesale destruction of the unlicensed castles, Henry II. permitted very few new strongholds to be built, though many of the older fortresses were strengthened and enlarged during this reign. It was about this time that both square towers and shell keeps began to go out of fashion: the keep was now usually built as a tower of cylindrical form, to which the older antiquaries gave the name of a Juliet.

---

1 The loss of life in these almost daily raids and skirmishes must have been great, though, of the earlier times, we have no statistics. The first trustworthy figures I have met with relate to the siege of Dryslwyn in 1287, when Herefordshire supplied 1,280 men, of whom more than 700 never returned.

To the reign of John, or perhaps a little later, belong Lyonshall, and the famous Monmouthshire trilateral—Skenfrith, Grosmont, and White Castle—which played a great part in the war between Henry III. and Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke.

Towards the end of the reign of Henry III. there came into fashion an entirely new style of castle-building—the elaborate concentric system called by the name of Edward I. He is fabled to have learnt it in the East, but it seems to have already been coming into use before his return from the last of the Crusades. He did, however, bring the concentric system of castle-building to its highest pitch of perfection in the castles of Caernarvon and Beaumaris. Of the Edwardian castles we have none in our county, but so great was the skill of the Herefordshire builders that King Edward appointed, in July, 1295, Walter de Hereford and Hugh de Leominster as overseers or clerks of the works at Caernarvon, the most celebrated of the Edwardian castles. Here they worked *maugre tous les Galeys* under the constant guard of twenty men-at-arms, forty cross-bows, and a hundred foot: *mais vous savez bien que Galeys sont Galeys*, as the overseers at Beaumaris quaintly remark in their report to the Exchequer. Nearly twenty years earlier than this, the steward of the Mortimer March rebuilt the castle of Builth, of which work most interesting particulars are extant. It took four years to complete, and cost about £1,600 (the difference in the value of money must be borne in mind). The stone was quarried in the Black Mountains, the lime was burnt at Talgarth, and we have full details of the wages paid to quarrymen, carters, masons, carpenters, smiths, and hodmen.

It is about this time that we begin to read of the granting of licences to crenellate mansions, *i.e.*, to furnish them with battlements. The following is a complete list of the Herefordshire licences:—

20 ED. I. *Willielmus de Grandison . . . mansum Asperton.*

21 ED. I. *Hugo de Frene . . . mansum Mockes [moccas] muro de petrâ et calce absque turri seu turellâ firmare et kernellare, ita quod murus ille subtus kernellieram sit altitudinis decem pedum.*

3 ED. II. *Willielmus de Grantson . . . mansum suum Eton.*

5 ED. II. *Hugo le Despenser senior . . . omnes domos et cameras in quibuscumque maneriis suis in regno nostro.*

3 ED. III. *Willielmus le Calys . . . man sumsuum apud Walle.*[1]

13 HENRY VI. *Rolandus Lenthall, Miles, et Lucia, uxor ejus . . . mansum Hampton Richard.*

After the conquest of Wales by King Edward I., the need of constant watch and ward in the border castles became less urgent, and the holders of the various fortresses began to compound with their tenants, who were bound to take their turn at castle-ward, allowing them to pay "wayte-penny" instead of service. When, however, the war with Owen Glyndwr once again exposed Herefordshire to the risk of invasion, King Henry IV. became alarmed about the defence of the Border. He placed his son, the young Prince Hal, with Gilbert Talbot, in command of Hereford and Grosmont Castles; and in 1403 he issued a writ to John Pauncefort, of Crickhowell; James Berkeley, of Tretower; William Beauchamp, of Abergavenny and Ewias Harold; Thomas Nevill de Furnivale, of Goodrich; Nicholas Montgomery, of Eardisley; Lady Anne Stafford, of Huntington; Walter Fitz-Walter, of "Lynhales" (Lyonshall) and Dorston; Brian, of Brampton; and John Chandos, of Snodhill; pointing out the evil which may result from the careless guarding of the Marcher castles, and commanding each of the above-mentioned lords to equip his castle with "men, stores, arms, artillery, and all other things necessary and suitable for defence." In spite of this warning, Owen, as Walsingham narrates, "took many castles, some of which he levelled to the

1 Is this the re-fortifying of the *domus defensabilis* of "Walelege," which we have already met with in Domesday?

ground." Walter Fitz-Walter would seem to have been especially negligent, since both his castles were destroyed. William Beauchamp, both at Abergavenny and at Ewias Harold, was reduced to great straits, but managed to hold out until the King came in person to his relief.

This war of Owen Glyndwr was the last attempt of the Welsh upon Herefordshire, and thenceforth the border castles were no longer needed. The English lords, says an old manuscript, "finding neyther profytte nor pleasure to dwell in their castells in Wales, became careless to maynteyne theire said castells, and thereby the said castells and houses, as things unnecessary, were suffered in tyme to runne in decaye, and spoyled of the ledde and timber by the neighbours." Some few were destined to come into new life, and even to win their greatest glory, in the Civil War. But most of the castles on the Border, after the time of Owen Glyndwr, became convenient quarries when the neighbouring farmers needed building stone.

Such, in briefest outline, is the story of our Herefordshire castles. In detail, the history of almost any one of them is full of romance. The reader may perhaps get something of the spirit of this romance of our border castles, and some idea of what life in them was like, in those strange old times, when, at any moment, anything might happen, from Sir Walter Scott's little-known novel, *The Betrothed*. It is not one of the greatest of his novels; it is, moreover, somewhat lacking in "local colour"; but two scenes, at least, are vivid and life-like—the battle with the Welsh on the bridge, and the siege of the castle of the Garde Doloureuse by Henry II. (which might easily stand for a literal account of the siege of one of the Mortimer castles, Cleobury or Wigmore, which that monarch actually did besiege). With such scenes in our mind, we can, on "castle tump" or ruined keep, reconstruct for ourselves the story of the Lacies, the Marshalls, and the Cantilupes. At Clifford we can dream of fair

Rosamund, and of the rich and beautiful young heiress of the north-country Viponts, who, forced into marriage with Roger de Clifford, her needy guardian, became the ancestress of "Black Clifford" of Brougham, and his son, the "shepherd lord," sung of by Wordsworth in perhaps the finest of his poems. On the mound of Auretone or of Ewias, we may picture to ourselves the cruelty and oppression which roused against Richard, son of Scrob, and Osbern Pentecost, the fierce hatred of the English, and caused the proverb to arise: *Quot domini castellorum, tot tyranni.* Or, at Wigmore, we may follow up the history of the family of Mortimer, from that Ralph who fought at Hastings *velut alter Samson*, through all the line of Hughs, Rogers, and Edmunds, until the great House, which for four centuries had waged war "on two fronts"—against the Welsh and, almost equally often, against the King—laid claim at length to the throne itself, and the name of Mortimer is lost in the royal House of York. Croft brings memories of Prince Edward's escape from Hereford; Kilpeck of John, hunting, as a boy, in Trivel-wood, and, in the last few months of his life, coming back, a fugitive, king only in name, to the castle where he had spent so many of the days of his youth. Ellingham, again, reminds us of Sir James Audley, the hero of Poictiers, whose fame is in Froissart; Grosmont of the great Lord Edmund of Lancaster, who had, by letters patent,[1] *jus regale* throughout his lands of the three castles. Grosmont recalls also the name of one greater even than Lord Edmund, Prince Hal, who, as a boy, learnt here, in daily warfare with the Welsh—not, as Shakespeare has it, and the children's history books which follow him, in rioting with Sir John Falstaff—how to win at Agincourt. Such names, again, as Braose, Bohun, Tregoz, Verdun, Giffard, call up thoughts of the wild Marcher lordships, *ubi brevia Domini Regis non currunt*,

[1] Dated November 6th, 1268.

and their warrior lords, always at war with the Welsh, with one another, or with the king—so fierce, even in their tournaments and mimic war, that Edward III. was compelled to issue a writ to the Sheriff of Herefordshire that no earl, baron, knight, or man-at-arms should presume *burdeare, turneare, justas facere, aut aventuras quaerere, sub forisfacturâ* (the terms of chivalry evidently compel the King's Latin to become slightly un-Ciceronian). But it is time to end. *Ohe, jam satis est!*

ARTHUR T. BANNISTER.

THE VAUGHANS OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

By H. F. J. Vaughan of Humphreston, Esq.

IT has been remarked that the frequency of certain surnames in different Welsh families renders their possessors somewhat indeterminate. It might, of course, be retorted that the fact of the earlier Norman families taking their designation from the principal manor which they owned frequently renders the prime ancestry of their junior branches a matter of doubt and difficulty. It must be borne in mind that the ancient British, or, as now generally termed, Welsh, families had no surnames, but were designated by their genealogies until the time of the Tudor dynasty. The earlier names, therefore, now attached to Welsh families, were originally, for the most part, personal epithets, such as Hên—the old or aged; Llwyd—the grey or hoary; Wynn or Gwynn—the white or fair-haired; Ddu—the black or dark; Goch—the red; Gam—the squinter or cross-eyed; and, finally, not to make the catalogue too long, Vychan, anglicised into Vaughan—the younger or the less. It will thus be seen that the name under consideration was likely to occur in many families of quite distinct descent, and such is the case. Taking a few of the more eminent, we have the Vaughans, Earls of Carbery, descended from Einion Evell, Lord of Cynllaith, of the blood of the Princes of Powys; the Vaughans, Earls of Lisburne, descended from Collwyn ab Tangno, one of the nobles of North Wales; Vaughan of Tyleglas, descended from Llywarch ab Bran, another

noble of North Wales; Vaughan of Nannau, a descendant of Cadwgan, Prince of Powys; Vaughan of Humphreston, descended from Owain Bendew, Prince of Tegeingl and chief of the nobles of North Wales; and Vaughan of Burlton, descended from the renowned but somewhat mythical Tudor Trevor, Lord of Hereford.

If we confine ourselves to the limits of the beautiful county of Hereford, where, from its position in close juxtaposition to Wales, we might expect to meet with a plurality of Welsh names, we find that the Vaughans divide themselves into two principal families, viz., the Vaughans of Bredwardine Castle and the Vaughans of Courtfield.

Seniores priores, so we will take firstly the Vaughans of Bredwardine, and standing at least in mind, if we are not able to do so in body, gazing upon the ruins of their ancient castle on the banks of the Wye, not far from a range of mountains which rise like a barrier between England and Wales, we may contemplate not only the beauty of the scenery around us, which yields to no other English landscape, but mentally ascending the ladder of the past centuries, we look upon the numerous generations which have held the old castle of Bredwardine, and rendered the name of Vaughan famous far beyond the confines of Herefordshire. It may well suggest a participation in the blood of Brychan Brycheiniog, Irish by descent, but Prince of Brecknock, when we say that the Vaughans of Hereford came from Brecon, but such was the case. In far-gone years, ere the Saxons had made their home in Britain, when Normans had not learnt to serve a Duke whose parentage had better be passed over in silence, and the haughty Plantagenets were humble Frenchmen of no particular mark, there lived a British warrior Prince, Caradoc of the brawny arm, whose mother was grand-daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog, whose consort, Tegan Eurvron, was renowned for beauty, and whose war-horse even, the Lluagor, the cleaver of the host, was

celebrated by the bards in the princely halls of Britain. Sparing the reader whose knowledge and pronunciation of British names may have become dull or been neglected, it may be recorded that fourteenth in descent from this redoubtable potentate came Maenarch, Prince of Brecon, who, allying himself with Elinor, daughter of Einion ab Selyff, had a son, Drym Benog, "whence the race of Vaughan," as a modern historian has it. Drym Benog was himself Lord of Cantref Selyff, and brother of Bleddyn, last Prince of Brecknock. His consort was Ellen or Wenllian, daughter of Jestyn ab Gwrgan, Prince of Glamorgan, and something very like a traitor to his suzerain. Their son, Moreiddig Warwyn, is said to have been born with a snake round his neck, and the place where this portentous nativity took place was not inaptly termed Llechryd, the place of horror.

The name Moreiddig Warwyn, "the great and jealous one of the white shoulders," is curious, but its appearance in this pedigree is not unique, for if the reader refers to Sir John Wynn's *History of the House of Gwydir*, he will find that when speaking of the ancestry of Eva, one of the heiresses married into that house, he relates that she was grand-daughter of Moreiddig, and continues: "There were two of that name, one in North Wales, who is descended from Sandde Hardd o Vortyn . . . and another in South Wales called Moreiddig Warwyn, of whom are come all the Vaughans." But the arms quartered by the Wynns of Wynstay and other descendants of this Eve are azure (sometimes sable), three boys' heads couped at the shoulders proper, crined or, each wreathed about the neck with a snake vert. The arms are doubtlessly founded upon the legend, and the legend took its rise from an incident which happened at a much later period, but which has been antedated and attributed to Moreiddig. The incident took place in the time of one of the earlier Vaughans, whose son and heir had been left by his nurse one fine summer morning in the garden

to finish his breakfast of bread and milk, while she went back to bring something from the house. What was her horror upon returning some little time afterwards to see her charge happily seated, indeed, as when she left him, but around his neck and quietly feeding out of the same bowl of milk, was a large snake, the two apparently on excellent terms. With a shriek of terror she rushed back to call the parents of the child, and with difficulty made herself understood. There was a general rush to the garden, where they found young Vaughan very happily playing, but no snake, for the milk was finished, and it had gone. The partiality of these reptiles for milk is well known.

Moreiddig was Lord of Llechryd, co. Cardigan, and Cantref Selyff, co. Brecknock, and his position is shewn by his marriage with the Lady Eleanor, daughter of the Lord Rhys ab Gruffudd ab Rhys ab Tewdwr of the royal blood of South Wales. The eldest son, Llewelyn, succeeded his father, and the line was carried on through Seissyllt, Llewelyn, Howel, and Evan, to Rosser Vawr (*Anglice*, Roger the Great), who strengthened his position by marrying an English woman, Joyce, daughter of Sir William Walbeoffe. Their son, Rosser Vychan, increased the property of the family by marrying Jane, daughter and co-heir of Ralph Baskerville, and these were the parents of Walter Sais, who gained, during the time of Edward III. of England, great renown and wealth in the wars of that reign. His name of Sais, *i.e.*, the Saxon, probably came from his being able to speak English and serving under the King of England. He it was who married Florence, the daughter and heir of Sir Walter Bredwardine, of Bredwardine, in Herefordshire, the future home of the race.

The village of Bredwardine, with its parish church dedicated to St. Andrew, is situated on the Wye, eleven and a half miles to the west-north-west of the city of Hereford, and in what was once felt to be dangerous

proximity to the Welsh border, when the ancient line of Princes which ruled over that country had reason to be discontented with the conduct of the then modern kings of England. Thus the castle somewhat resembled that of the Garde Dolourouse described by Scott, for the holders of it had little season of leisure from watch and guard.

The match with the English heiress of Bredwardine strengthened the position of the family, which was still more confirmed in the next generation by the marriage of Roger, called Hen, *i.e.*, the elder, with Blanch or Jane, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux, a family which already stood high in the English court. Their son, Sir Roger of Bredwardine, was called Vychan or Vaughan, to distinguish him from his father, and was the first who bore this, which subsequently became the family surname.

The connection with English families brought with it a participation in English affairs, and Sir Roger joined with his father-in-law in the great battle of Agincourt, 1415, when we find here many other Herefordshire names. Sir Roger had married Gwladys, daughter of Sir David Gam, the man who, when he returned from reconnoitring the enemy, gave the well-known account of them—"enough to kill, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away." Deeply devoted to the King, David Gam, Sir Walter Vaughan and Walter Llwyd, at a moment when the King's life was in imminent peril, bravely offered themselves to the attacking foe, and at the sacrifice of their own lives purchased that of Henry, who, not unmindful of the deed, conferred the honour of knighthood on these three brave men as they lay mortally stricken on the field of battle. After the death of her first husband, Gwladys, Lady Vaughan, married Sir William ab Thomas, by whom she was mother of the celebrated warriors, William, Earl of Pembroke, beheaded after the battle of Edgecot, near Banbury, in 1469; and Sir Richard Herbert, of Coldbrook. Other Herefordshire names at Agincourt

are those of Sir John Cornewall, K.G., William Cornewall, Sir John de Brugge, Sir Rowland Lenthall, James Croft, etc.

Leading so active a life, Sir Roger Vaughan must have been constantly absent from his home in Herefordshire, but in the intervals of quiet and even amidst the din of war, the fair castle on the banks of the lovely Wye, the blue hills in the distance, and the parish church where he and his loved ones laid down the burden of their imperfections, and sought new courage for the duties of life in the practice of religion, came as sweet memories to his mind; for there he had established his home, there his children were growing up under the care of their mother, learning to be brave men, not only with the bravery which is common to men and beasts, but with that higher courage which enables a man to be distinctively manly, to despise the low, the sordid, the base, to fight for the right, and to follow the life which leads to a noble death. Here at Bredwardine were Sir Roger's sons —Watkin, his successor; Thomas, the second, founder of the flourishing house of Hergest; Roger, ancestor of the Vaughans of Tretower; and four fair daughters, who should carry his blood into other families.

The eldest son, Watkin, is mentioned among the more eminent men of Herefordshire (12 Henry VI.), and by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Harry Wogan, had a large family, the eldest of whom, Sir Thomas, possessed the old family estates of Bredwardine, Cwmddu, Tir Ralph, and Llechryd, and connected himself with historical English houses by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Robert, son of Sir Robert Whitney, whose wife, Constance, was a daughter of the well-known James, Lord Audley, slain at Bloreheath when endeavouring to oppose the progress of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury. This Lord Audley had married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, by Constance, daughter of Edmund de Langley, Duke of York.

It remained for Sir Thomas' eldest son, Sir Richard Vaughan, of Bredwardine, to prepare the way for the decay of the old seat by his marriage with Ann, daughter of John Butler, of Dunraven and Pembrey. He was Sheriff of Hereford in 1530, and had been present at Terouenne and Tournay in 1513; but we find his son, Walter Vaughan, living at Dunraven in 1584. However, the family still flourished, for Walter's son, Thomas of Dunraven, purchased land in Wiltshire, and matched with Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Johnes of Abermarlais, which closely connected him with the Vaughans of Golden Grove, Earls of Carbery, etc.; but Bredwardine was no longer their chief seat.

It is pleasant to find a member of the family serving as lieutenant-colonel of the 4th Regiment on the King's side in the civil war of the seventeenth century, but the line ended after three generations in an heiress, Bridget, wife of John, first Lord Ashburnham. The older arms of the family are said to have been: quarterly 1 and 4; argent a lion rampant sable crowned or; 2 and 3, sable a chevron between three spears' heads argent.

Before leaving Bredwardine, some notice must be taken of the branches derived from the parent stem of this ancient house. One of the most eminent was that of Tretower, founded by Sir Roger, third son of Sir Roger of Bredwardine and Gwladys Gam. He was befriended by his half-brother, William, Earl of Pembroke, and fell fighting with him at Edgecot, near Banbury. His first wife was Denise, daughter of Thomas ab Philip Vaughan, of Tyleglas; and his second, Margaret, widow of Lord Powis, and daughter of James, Lord Audley, who fell at Bloreheath. His eldest son, Sir Thomas, is probably the Sir Thomas Vaughan who was beheaded at Pontefract in 1483, mentioned by Shakespeare in *Richard III.*, and from him descended in direct paternal line William Vaughan, of Llandevale in 1607, whose son, Thomas, of Newton-in-Llansanfraed, was father of Thomas, of Newton

and Jesus College, Oxford (presented to Llansanfraed by his cousin, Sir George Vaughan, of Tollerstone, Wilts., a well-known author and alchemist), and also of Henry Vaughan, M.D., the author and poet, often called Vaughan the Silurist, who died in 1695, aged 75 years. Though some obscurity attaches to his descendants, he was probably ancestor of William Vaughan, physician to William III., from whom, among other persons distinguished for learning, descended the late Dr. Vaughan, formerly Headmaster of Harrow School, and subsequently Master of the Temple and Dean of Llandaff.

Sir Roger Vaughan, of Porthaml-in-Talgarth, 1550, was the second son of Sir Roger of Tretower and Denise, his wife. The Vaughans of Moccas derive from Watkin, second son of Sir William of Porthaml, *obit* 1564, son of Watkin, eldest son of Sir Roger. To Moccas, one of the finest domains in Herefordshire, attaches a legend not dissimilar to that concerning young Lord Dacre, the owner of the grand old castle of Hurstmonceux, but ending less tragically. The park of Moccas was rich and fair to view, while beneath the ancient oaks, which by their giant arms raised heavenward made a perpetual shade, browsed many a herd of sleek and fat deer. Moccas had fallen into the possession of Frances, daughter of Sir Walter Pye, who in 1635 married Henry Vaughan, and was left a widow with one son. The park was zealously guarded on all hands by vigilant keepers, so that word went round the neighbourhood that he would be a brave man who could break Moccas park. Now, Moccas lies not so deeply secluded but that the tale of its inviolable preserves and its lady keeper came to the ears of a certain Edward Cornewall. Listening begot meditation, meditation desire, and desire plans of action, so that finally nothing would content him but that he should have a fat buck out of Moccas park. As a Cornewall, a descendant of King John, such a deed would be most condemnable, so the inner gentleman must be concealed under the rough garb of

a country poacher. At last a night suited to the deed arrived—just light enough to see objects indistinctly, while soaking rain from time to time was likely to drive all men, even park keepers, to their home and fireside. There was a spot where black night reigned supreme over the enclosure of Moccas park, where no human eye could descry a rough, albeit athletic, figure noiselessly scaling the pales, and landing safely within the well-kept enclosure. A few moments to take breath, to enjoy the first success, to feel oneself safe within the forbidden precincts, even though one could hear the low baying of bloodhounds in the distance, and then with stealthy step our hero penetrated deeper into the forbidden pastures, listening from time to time for any sound that might shew the proximity of the park keepers; but all seemed still, save the patter of the rain and sometimes, perhaps, the crack of a rotten stick or fall of an acorn. A passing gleam of light shews a herd of deer amidst the furze near, then a fine buck, the tynes upon whose antlers proclaim him a royal prize. Carefully young Cornewall stalks his quarry, nearer and nearer he approaches, and now surely the prize is won, for his prey is in his hands, when suddenly the stillness is broken by the shouts of men, the angry barking of dogs. One arm is gripped in the powerful jaws of a huge hound, while another attacks his legs, and at the same time a shower of blows fall from the cudgels of six stalwart gamekeepers. There is a short fight, and young Cornewall sinks unconscious to the ground.

Meanwhile the Lady of Moccas was seated at her evening repast, having shut out the chilly rain and dismal weather with closed curtains, while a bright fire of wood logs cast a warm glow and radiance over the hall, and the wax candles on the tables diffused a pleasant light. The sound of the rain pattering on the windows made her thoughts turn to those whose fortunes, unlike her own, compelled them to endure the inclemency of the weather, and her heart softened in sympathy with them. But what

sounds were those, heard above the dreary falling of the rain? The shouts and angry tones of men, the furious barking of dogs, tell of some affray at no great distance; then again all is quiet.

The repast was finished, and the Lady of Moccas had retired to her withdrawing room, and was busied with her tambour frame, when a knock was followed by the entrance of her majordomo, who told her that the park keepers had brought in a young man whom they had found in the park in pursuit of deer, and whose resistance to capture had been so strenuous that they feared he was much hurt, "and," added the servant, "it seems to me he is of gentle blood." Like most ladies of the period, the heiress of Moccas was skilled in simple leachcraft, and summoning her maid to carry sundry elixirs and cordials, preceded by her majordomo, descended to the stable, where the sick man lay, tightly bound, on a pile of straw. A keen spasm of pity and perhaps something more passed through her heart as she beheld the prostrate and insensible form before her, disfigured though it was by blood from wounds and remnants of Herefordshire soil. The well-formed hands were those of no tiller of the earth; the finely cut features, the curl of silken hair, and the delicately-proportioned ear, which the displacement of the rough cap disclosed, all told of gentle blood. The lady ordered the bonds to be removed, and gently bathed from his face and hands the marks of the fray; then, discovering that there were no grave injuries, she had him removed to a couch in the hall, and here, as light and understanding returned, he beheld the anxious face of an exceedingly beautiful woman bending over him and applying restoratives—a face never to be forgotten, for those kindly, sympathetic eyes forged bonds far more lasting than those of the park keepers—bonds which were rivetted for ever at the altar. So Moccas passed to the Cornewalls.[1]

---

[1] See Robinson's *Castles of Herefordshire.*

At the south-east corner of Herefordshire, where the windings of the beautiful Wye form a kind of peninsular, stands Welsh Bicknor, and near it Courtfield, which for some centuries has been the home of another family of Vaughan. This was originally a detached portion of the county of Monmouth, and Welsh Bicknor was in the lower division of the Hundred of Skenfrith. In the church, dedicated to St. Margaret, is a recumbent stone effigy supposed to represent the Countess of Salisbury, who, according to tradition, nursed King Henry V. at Courtfield, about half a mile distant.

The earlier history of this family of Vaughan is identical with that of the great House of Herbert, usually stated to have sprung from Henry FitzHerbert, Chamberlain to Henry I., by the daughter of Robert Corbet, Lord of Alancester, county Warwick, as Brooke the Herald says. But others say that his son, Herbert FitzHenry, was a natural son of Henry I. of England by the daughter of Robert Corbet. The Golden Grove Book, however, which contains the family pedigree of the Vaughans, Earls of Carbery, etc., gives this Herbert another origin, calling him son of Godwyn, son of Elfryd, who was disinherited by William the Conqueror, and he, marrying Bede, daughter of Godwyn, Earl of Kent, had issue Henry FitzHerbert, Chamberlain to Henry I., who married Lucia or Julia, daughter of Robert Corbet, of Alcester, thus doing the King a service. Now, whichever of these ancestors we select, it is evident that the founder of the race was of English origin, and his descendants are Englishmen, however many centuries they may live in Wales. According to Brooke the Herald and others, the descent continued in direct male line from Herbert FitzHenry through Herbert, Peter, Reginald, Peter, Herbert, Adam to Jenkin, his second son. All this, however, has been controverted, as may be seen by a reference to *The Genealogies of Morgan*, by G. T. Clarke; but, at the same time, all agree that Gwilym ab Jenkin, Lord of

Kevendyglwydd, in right of his wife, was Master-Sergeant of Abergavenny in 1345, and was undoubtedly ancestor of the numerous and illustrious houses which, under various names, comprise the Herbert Sept. It may be remarked that an unfortunate aspect has been given to the Herbert pedigree by the attribution to its members of properties which they certainly never possessed. We find that Herbert, son of Herbert, was living in 1177, and held some Corbet lands in Ratlinghope, county Salop. His son, Peter, died in 1235, whose son, Herbert, was Lord of Pontesbury and father of Peter, father of Sir Reginald, who in 1255 had the manor of Pontesbury and lands in Woodcote, near Shrewsbury. He died in 1286, and his son, John, sold the manor in 1305. There is a remarkable similarity between this pedigree taken from Deeds and that of Herbert. The ancient family of Adams of Cleeton, in the same county, whose heiress married an ancestor of Vaughan of Humphreston, is of the same line, being descended from Sir Thomas ab Adam, and John or Jenkin, the ancestor of the Herberts, seems to have been a son of Sir Thomas, who bore sable a martlet argent. The Golden Grove Book makes Sir Thomas ab Adam Herbert and Jenkin brothers, and gives the arms of their ancestor Peter, living 1272, as per pale azure and gules three lions rampant argent, the arms of the present Vaughans of Courtfield, but anciently they are said to have been gules three lions rampant or. Anyone interested in ancient heraldry may notice here the probable influence of the arms of Gwarin Ddu, *i.e.*, per pale azure and sable three fleurs de lis or, whose daughter, Christian, married Adam ab Herbert.

But to return to Gwilym ab Jenkin, the Master-Sergeant of Abergavenny, whose wife, Gwenllian, daughter of Howel Vychan, died about 1377, having brought him the lordship of Kevendyglwydd. He was the common ancestor of several distinguished families derived from his sons, and having many different names. According to

the Golden Grove Book, Gwenllian was third cousin to her husband. Howel, their third son, was ancestor of the families of Herbert (formerly Jones) of Llanarth, Jones, Lord Ranelagh, and Herbert (formerly Jones) of Clytha, with others. Thomas, the fourth son, however, was the ancestor of those who principally made the family famous. He lived at Perthir, dying in 1438, and having married Maud, daughter of Sir John Morley, was progenitor of all the Herberts as well as of the Vaughans of Courtfield and other families. Their eldest son, Howel, married, firstly, a daughter of Huntley, and, secondly, Catherine, the heiress of Llansannor, a beautiful old mansion not far from Cowbridge, which passed to their descendants, the Gwyns. The third son by the second wife was William Vychan or Vaughan, whence the family name, who married a daughter of John Pye, of the Mynde, county Hereford. He resided at Llanrothal, near Perthir, and was father of a second son, Thomas, who, by a daughter of Lewis John Gwylim, had an eldest son, James Vaughan, of Llangattog Vibonavel. He acquired Courtfield by his marriage with Sibilla, daughter of John Gwylim, of Cillwch, co-heir of her brother. Their second son, William Vaughan, was living at Bicknor, and married, in 1579, Jane, daughter and heir of Richard Clarke, of Wellington, who survived the death of her husband in 1601. Here, during the changes of the sixteenth century, when the jurisdiction of the Pope was taken away by Parliament, and conferred upon the King, when Parliament granted to the same monarch the lands and goods of his subjects, the monks and nuns, when that body took upon itself to dissolve the marriage vow of the King, and legitimatised his base offspring, the Vaughans stood firm, and would none of these things. The courage and persistency which they inherited with their British blood forbade them to trifle and traffic with what they held to be the things of God, or for peace and emolument to sell their ancient faith. Through the hard times of Henry VIII., Edward VI.,

under the tutelage of the Seymours and Elizabeth Boleyn, though hundreds of England's noblest fell, there was no surrender by the Vaughans of the principles which they had maintained. The Vaughans forfeited the wealth and honours which their cousins, the Herberts, gained; but whatever difference of opinion there may be as to their principles, no one will deny the steadfast courage of the Vaughans its meed of admiration. William Vaughan is called "of Clifford" and Lord of Welsh Bicknor. His son and heir, John Vaughan, of Courtfield and Clifford Park, living in 1648, was, as the State papers have it, a Royalist and Popish recusant—in other words, true to his King and Faith. For these crimes he was liable to the confiscation of two-thirds of his property and a monthly fine of £20, which would equal some £200 of our present value. No Catholic family could have existed under such oppressions; but to their honour be it spoken, not all the nobility of this nation sided with the oppression of Parliament. Many generously helped these persecuted families to retain their estates by acting for them, evincing a true spirit of religious toleration.

John Vaughan married Ann, daughter of Richard Lingen, of Hereford, a name of great antiquity and renown in the County. Their son, Richard, succeeded to Courtfield, and married, firstly, Bridget, daughter of William Rigmar, of Luston, county Hereford, and upon her death when he was seventy-five years old, he married, secondly, Agatha, daughter of John Berington, of Cowarne Court, by whom he had further issue. The ancient family of Berington still exists at Little Malvern Court—a house in which the practice of the ancient Faith has been maintained uninterruptedly to the present day.

It was reserved for John, Richard's eldest son by his first wife, to unite this with the old Herefordshire family of Vaughan by marrying Mary, daughter and heir of John Vaughan, of Cleiro, Ruardean, and Over Ross, derived from Roger Vaughan, of Cleiro, second son of Thomas

Vaughan, of Hergest, previously mentioned. She died without issue, but the Vaughans of Courtfield apparently from this alliance use the old Vaughan crest—a boy's head couped at the shoulders, with a snake twined round his neck. The estates passed to John Vaughan, the eldest son by the second wife, whose first wife dying young, he married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Jones, of Llanarth, and a cousin by descent. She was mother of his heir, John, born 1707, who died s.p., so that his brother, Richard, born 1708, became heir to Courtfield. A younger son, William, fought at Culloden, and was not only attainted for treason, but excluded from the general pardon granted in 1747. His exclusion from English rights made him take a commission in the Spanish service, where he rose to the rank of General. Richard, who became heir, was also at the unhappy fight at Culloden, where he is believed to have fought in the Duke of Perth's division, and subsequently retiring to Spain, married Francesca, daughter of Guillermo Fourt y Mamman, and died in that country. William, their son, born 1740, married Frances, daughter of John Turner, of Hampstead, and re-introduced the family, as it were, to its native place.

The extreme measures against Catholics were now becoming relaxed, so that their son, William Michael Thomas John, who was born in 1781, was a magistrate, deputy Lieutenant, and Sheriff of the County of Hereford in 1833. He married Teresa, daughter of Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle, and after her death Lady Mary Anne, widow of Sir Thomas Gage, and daughter of the Earl of Kenmare, but had issue only by his first wife.

The Vaughans are remarkable for the number of ecclesiastics and religious which they have supplied to the Church. Thus, in the next generation, out of seven children, the eldest, John Francis, and the youngest, Teresa Mary Eleanora, wife of Thomas Weld Blundell, of Ince, were the only ones who remained in the world; for William became Catholic Bishop of Plymouth; Richard was a

Jesuit; Edmund a Redemptorist; and their two sisters were nuns. The eldest son became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Monmouthshire Militia, and married twice. By his second wife he had two children, who died infants; but by his first wife, Eliza Louisa, daughter of John Rolls, of the Hendre, county Monmouth, he was father of the late Herbert, Cardinal Vaughan and Archbishop of Westminster, whose name will be always associated with the Westminster Cathedral, built during his tenure of office, and in whom another English name is added to the number of the Princes of the Church which this country has supplied. The next brother, Roger William Vaughan, became Archbishop of Sydney, but his remains lie in his native county of Hereford, under a handsome tomb, in the churchyard surrounding the monastic church at Belmont, near Hereford. It was reserved for another member of this family to vindicate the justice of English law against those who wilfully calumniate. So this old Herefordshire family has borne its part in its country's affairs from the time when their ancestors fell loyally fighting for King and Country at the battle of Agincourt to the present day, unchanged in their Faith, unchanged in their fidelity to the monarchical principles. To such men as the Vaughans of Herefordshire England owes a deep debt of admiration and gratitude, for they are the foundation of her Empire. It would be well for her to look to it that such solid foundations are not suffered to decay by neglect, or be supplanted by the florid stucco of modern theories.

H. F. J. VAUGHAN OF HUMPHRESTON, B.A., S.C.L.,
CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

Old Timber House, High Town, Hereford.

THE OLD CITY OF HEREFORD.

By W. J. Humfrys, Esq.

THE history of the City of Hereford begins about the end of the eighth century. Legend, no doubt, takes us back to an earlier date, as we hear of a Bishop of Hereford as early as 676 and of a Synod having been held at the City in 680. But it was not till the reign of Offa of Mercia in the latter half of the eighth century that the Saxons acquired the district lying west of the Severn, and drove the Welsh out of the tract of territory of which Herefordshire forms part.

Of the earlier period there is no authentic record. There are no traces of any settlement on the spot in Roman times. The principal Roman station in the district was Magna Castra, situate four miles west of Hereford, at a spot now known as Kenchester, and of which no vestige remains; nor does even tradition tell us when and how it was destroyed, nor suggest any connection between Magna Castra and the British church and village of Fernlege, which occupied the site of the later Hereford.

Among the various guesses as to the origin of the name Hereford, that which derives it from Saxon terms meaning "Ford of the Army" is as probable as any, and the existence of a ford may account for the selection of the site as suited for a church and village. But it was to Offa that Hereford owed its importance. Towards the end of the eighth century that chieftain was residing in a fortress he had erected some five miles north of the

city, at a spot now known as Sutton Walls. There was perpetrated in 794 a treacherous murder of Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, when on a visit to Offa, and the legends describe the repentance of the Mercian monarch and the burial of the remains of the victim in the Church or Cathedral at Hereford. Ethelbert was canonized, and miracles were wrought at his tomb, while the piety of Offa led to the erection and endowment of a finer edifice as the Cathedral of Hereford.

Round this Cathedral Church the town of Hereford grew up, and by the time of the Conquest it had become an important border fortress and the Shirestow or county town of the county of the same name. There are few, if any, references to the city among contemporary records until the time of its capture and partial destruction in 1055, but from the evidence afforded by Domesday Book and from other sources of even later date we can form some idea of its condition in Saxon times.

Though built on the Terra Regis, a Royal Borough, forming part of the estates of the Earldom of Hereford, the principal influence over it was ecclesiastical. Like most other early towns, the township extended over a considerable area, and it is, at all events, probable that the present Liberties of the City, which extend over more than five thousand acres, are identical with the boundaries of the lands of the old vill or township. In the centre of these lay the city, fortified, in all probability, by some rude walls, but they enclosed a smaller area than that which lay within the walls in later times. The river formed the southern boundary, and the better opinion is that the northern wall and moat followed the line of the streets now known as East Street and West Street; and, indeed, some traces of this wall have been recently discovered at more than one spot when foundations were being excavated. If this were the course of the northern wall, High Town and everything to the north of it must at this date have been outside the walls, and the town could

not have been much more than half the size of the Hereford of Norman and Plantagenet times.

The lands outside the walls seem principally to have belonged to the Church, and to have been cultivated by its tenants according to the principles of co-operative husbandry which then prevailed throughout the Kingdom. During the time to which we are referring, the old village communities of early England were changing their character: the township was developing into the manor, and the village moot into the manor court, with the lord at its head; and there seems little doubt that by the time of the Confessor such parts of the land around the town as were not held by the citizens direct from the Crown were impressed with the characteristic burdens of feudal tenure.

By the middle of the eleventh century Hereford had become a place of some importance. We learn from Domesday Book that the Bishop held, in the time of King Edward, ninety-eight houses in Hereford, and although the paragraph in the Survey which describes the estates of the Church is not very easy to construe, those estates within the liberties of the city must have extended over some thousands of acres.

There was a Royal Mint, and the Bishop seems also to have enjoyed the right of coining money. One hundred and three men are said to have been living within and without the walls. These may have been the free tenants liable to be gelded or taxed, and the number would not include ecclesiastics, servants, or probably the unfree tenants of the various lords.

In 1055, Hereford fell upon evil times. Among the Normans who swarmed to England in the days of King Edward, one of the most favoured was the King's nephew, Ralph, who had been given the Earldom of Hereford and as part of the estates of that Earldom the Overlordship of the county town of Hereford, and he was apparently the only Frenchman who was left in undisturbed possession

of an Earldom after the return of Earl Godwin in 1052. It has been suggested that he built a fort to command the city, but this at best is only a guess.

In 1055, Alfgar, the banished Earl of East Anglia, raised a force in Ireland, and in alliance with Griffith, the King of North Wales, invaded Herefordshire from the south, and the united forces advanced, plundering as they went, to within two miles of the city, where they were met by Earl Ralph, who had raised a considerable force, consisting in part of his own French retainers and partly of native levies. But the conflict that ensued hardly deserves the name of a battle. We are told, on the one hand, that Ralph had insisted on the English being equipped in the Norman fashion and mounted, and that as a consequence they made no stand against the invaders; while another report describes Ralph himself as the first to fly. But, at all events, the Earl's force dispersed without any serious attempt to defend the city, and the English Earl and the Welsh King entered it together. Some attempt seems to have been made to defend the Cathedral, as seven Canons were killed at the west door; but the structure itself, with its ornaments and relics and a large part of the town, including the citadel, was burnt, a large number of citizens slaughtered, and many others, with a rich booty, carried off by the invaders. We learn from Domesday Book that of the ninety-eight houses in the city which belonged to the Bishop in the time of King Edward, only sixty existed at the time of the Survey; and as during the thirty years that at that date had elapsed since the sack of the city some had probably been rebuilt, these figures speak to the destruction wrought by the invaders.

From the ease with which the town was captured, and the circumstance that, while we read of the attempted defence of the Cathedral, we hear nothing of any effort to hold the fortress, it may be inferred that the fortifications were weak and imperfect.

Harold, Earl of the West Saxons, and afterwards King of England, hurried to the rescue, but the invaders retired at his approach, and escaped with their captives and booty into South Wales, and during the next year King Griffith was again plundering Herefordshire, and the Bishop of Hereford, who seems to have himself commanded a force raised for the protection of the county, was killed, and with him the Sheriff and several priests; but before the end of 1056 an arrangement was come to between the English and Welsh Kings, which ended for a time the conflict from which both county and city had so greatly suffered.

Harold proceeded to fortify Hereford, surrounding it by a wall, within which appears to have been comprised a much larger space than of old, and he probably laid the foundations of the castle that in later times came to be looked upon as one of the strongest of the border fortresses. The piety of those days and the resources of the church of Hereford provided for the rebuilding of the Cathedral, and the town soon recovered from the disaster, and a very few years later it may have merited Freeman's description. "By the banks of the Wye rose," he writes, "the Minster, low and massive, but crowned by one or more of those tall slender towers by which the rude art of English masons strove to reproduce the campaniles of Northern Italy. Around the Church were gathered the houses of the Bishop, the Canons, the Citizens, the last at least mainly of wood. Over all rose the square mass of the Norman donjon, an ominous foreboding of the days which were soon to come."[1]

After the Conquest, Hereford came under the rule of William FitzOsbern, to whom, among other great estates, the Conqueror granted the Earldom of Hereford. He would appear not only to have completed the castle, the foundations of which had been laid by Harold, but also to have introduced a French colony into the city, and

[1] *Norman Conquest*, Vol. II., 400.

these Norman retainers were not merely castlemen, the garrison of the Castle, but traders and husbandmen. A great scheme of burghal colonization was one of the means by which the great tenants in chief of the Crown attempted to secure and to civilize their newly-acquired territories, especially in the wilder and more disturbed districts. Herefordshire was one of the most unsettled parts of the King's dominions. It had suffered greatly in King Edward's time from the Norman castles, which at Richard's Castle, Wigmore, and elsewhere had been erected by the Norman favourites of that King, and the assistance of the Welsh was always available where plunder might be obtained. The county was ravaged by the Saxon Edric, in alliance with the Welsh King, in 1067, and though the city was successfully defended, the garrison seems to have been at one time in great straits.[1]

We can readily understand, then, the step taken by FitzOsbern to strengthen his position by introducing as burgesses more of his own race; but to displace the existing inhabitants was a step even he dared not take, and so he established his Norman immigrants in a spot by themselves close to, but apart from, the old English inhabitants, and the French and English boroughs subsisted, for a time at least, side by side, and a recent writer places the site of the French borough outside St. Owen's Gate, on the further side of the Castle mill stream.[2]

That the French burgesses were a privileged class is evident from Domesday, where, after a definition of the services and customs binding the inhabitants before the Conquest, to which they are said to continue subject, it is stated that the Frenchmen were subject to no greater fine than twelve pence, save in cases of breach of the King's peace, burglary, or aggravated assault.[3]

1 Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV., 111.

2 Miss Mary Bateson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XV., 305.

3 The words in Domesday are "pacem suam [*i.e.*, Regis] infractam et heinfarum et forestellum." "Heinfarum" is an attack on a man in his own house; "forestellum" an attack on the highway, apparently from an ambush. See Stephen, *Hist. of the Criminal Law*, Vol. I., p. 56.

The services of the English burgesses were both personal and pecuniary: they included liability to attend the Court of the Hundred, to furnish guards when the King was in the city, and attendants on him when hunting, and to perform certain acts of husbandry; but the more important ones were pecuniary.

It has been suggested that the privileges conferred by FitzOsbern on his Norman tenants were not confined to those above referred to, namely, the freedom from customs and services, save the fine of twelve pence, but that from his Norman town of Breteuil the new Earl introduced a body of customs which, if originally intended for the benefit of his French colony, were subsequently, when the two races had coalesced, embodied in a code applicable to all the burgesses and secured to the town by various royal charters.

At all events, there has been preserved in a manuscript which dates from the second year of Henry VII. a body of customs stated to have belonged to Hereford as early as the commencement of the reign of Henry II. (1154). Between the Conquest and that date Hereford had made some further progress, for there are traces of a bridge over the Wye having been built in the reign of Henry I., but, on the other hand, it had again suffered from the horrors of war. Seized in 1138 by Geoffrey Talbot, on behalf of the Empress Maud, the city was besieged for five weeks by Stephen, and before its surrender was partially destroyed by fire; and a little earlier it had been described as a city of no great size, whose broken-down ramparts told of a greatness that had long passed away.

It would be difficult to reconcile the condition of affairs suggested by the code of customs attributed to 1154 with the description just quoted, and, indeed, there is much internal evidence that some of the customs and obligations referred to in that code had been first introduced long after the date assigned to them, but some may

have belonged to a period even earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

It is not improbable that the customs in vogue were collected and embodied in some written document shortly after the settled government of the reign of Henry II. succeeded to the anarchy of the times of Stephen. If so, as the city grew and prospered, the customs were modified and supplemented to meet the needs of changed times and increasing trade and prosperity, and the "Customs of the City of Hereford newly written and renewed" by the Mayor of the city in 1486, while embodying the substance and perhaps even the words of many of the ancient customs, probably incorporated additions and amendments of later times.

We are told that newly-enfranchised corporations applied to the burgesses of Hereford to have the privileges and customs certified to them, their charters expressly granting the same laws and customs as those of Hereford, but there is some evidence that it was the privileges acquired, according to Domesday, by the French burgesses, rather than the whole body of customs, that were sought after.

However this may be, the customs, as they have come down to us, read in connection with the charters and such other documents as time has spared, enable some idea to be formed of the condition of the city during the reign of the Plantagenets. The privileges so prized by the burgesses of the middle ages were, in effect, rights of self-government, which, dating from a remote past, were enlarged rather than restricted as time went by.

A Bailiff, sometimes called the King's Bailiff, and who, by a charter of Richard II., was permitted to assume the title of Mayor, was elected yearly by the citizens, and to him was confided the government of the city, and obedience to his rule was enjoined as a primary duty on all good citizens. And the office was no sinecure: the defence against foreign foes or even lawless marauders

was a task that weighed heavily on the inhabitants of a border town, and it was to the Bailiff or Mayor the inhabitants trusted in emergency. He, too, was, at all events the nominal, president of the Borough Court, which possessed an extensive jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, but in this he was aided by a Steward, to be chosen by the citizens—"one of the city if he may be had"; if not, "a foreigner who is known of the citizens"—and on whom apparently fell the duties of Judge; and there was also a Town Clerk, whose work was strictly administrative, to keep the records. The Steward was probably, at all events in the earlier days, in Orders, and he was sworn, among other things, to assist the Bailiff, "especially if such Bailiff be a lay or unlettered man." The Bailiff seems also to have been entrusted with the revenues of the city, for at the end of his year of office he is "to make unto us a just account of all his receipts in our whole company."

The citizens—that is, those who were free of the city, who had taken the civic oath, and whose names were entered on the city roll—were alone entitled to the privileges of the city, and that on condition of their being always ready armed for its defence.

It was the safety of their homes and hearths that occupied the first place in the minds of the men of Hereford, and the cordial relations that appear to have subsisted between successive kings and the city were due to community of interests. A body of stout burghers who formed a garrison for an important citadel were worth encouraging, and charter after charter confirms or extends their liberties or grants rights to levy tolls, sometimes for such purposes as building a bridge or strengthening the fortifications.

The first charter granting the town to the citizens in perpetuity, at a yearly rent of £40, is of as early a date as the reign of Richard I. The liberties and privileges of the citizens strike us as of no small value. They had

the right to admit as citizens whom they would, and many much-cherished customs which were disappearing throughout the country as feudalism strengthened its hold in the land were preserved in the town, amongst others the right of free disposition, both *inter vivos* and by will, of tenements within the city. The old Borough Court, too, retained its jurisdiction, exclusive to a great extent, both in criminal and civil matters: the Sheriff could not enter the city even to execute the king's writ, though especial provision is made for the execution of such process by the Bailiff or Steward.

The City Court was not only the court where debts were recovered, but there all disputes between the citizens about their customs or their tenements, and all questions of tort and trespass, were tried.

In addition to the Court, the Bailiff and Steward, with whom for this purpose was associated the Coroner, were to hold Inquisitions at certain fixed times of the year, which fulfilled the same ends as the Courts Leet and view of frankpledge of the manors throughout the country; and in addition to the presentments of crimes and offences, and of customs and liabilities, questions in dispute between citizens, and the various lords whose manors or fees lay within or around the city, seem to have been then raised and discussed.

The city and the lords were evidently at issue as to the conditions on which tenements, parcel of the manors, but lying within the city, might be held by citizens, and the customs insist that the tenants of land held subject to services to the lords which might conflict with their duty to the city were not to be treated as burgesses.

As time passed by, the presentments were adapted so as to confer on the inquests what was practically legislative authority in municipal matters, for the presentment that any custom had prevailed in olden time, and ought, therefore, to be enforced, was a method frequently

adopted for legalising innovations that were desired by the ruling classes.

But municipal institutions, as we understand them, were of a later age. There is no trace in these customs or in the earlier charters of aldermen or a common council. We find, indeed, a kind of committee of twelve acting on special occasions as representatives of the town. If the Bailiff is dishonest or convicted of a crime, twelve of the company are to put him out of office, and again if the King or his children visit the city twelve of the discreetest men are to form a kind of reception committee.

The transition from this government by a Bailiff elected by and responsible to the citizens at large, aided by a Steward and a Town Clerk, and sometimes supported, sometimes controlled, by a Council of twelve, who, from the records of other towns, we may believe were chosen by some kind of popular election, to the rule of a governing body composed of aldermen and "men of the election," who answered to the common councillors of later days, cannot be traced in the annals of Hereford.

It is not unlikely that as trade and population, and with it the prosperity and importance of the more successful artificers and merchants increased, some of those burgesses whose intelligence and wealth distinguished them above their fellows, were either selected or assumed the right to manage municipal affairs, and to them, as time went by, was confided the government of the city. The guilds merchant or unions, which regulated the affairs of every trade, were the bodies who, in effect, governed nearly all the towns in the kingdom. Every important industry was ruled by its guild, and no craftsman could earn his livelihood unless with the sanction of the guild of his trade, and subject to the conditions it imposed. The rights of guilds to prevent any competition by outsiders and to regulate their own affairs were recognised by very early charters, and the heads of the more important of those guilds having become in reality the rulers of the

city, we may readily believe that the Town Council owes its origin to informal meetings of leading citizens summoned from time to time by the Mayor, or that, at all events, that this was the case in those boroughs where, as at Hereford, the oligarchy was predominant, and the customs of 1154 evidently represent a state of affairs that had been largely superseded at the time of their re-publication by the Mayor in 1486; for while the earlier principle that only those who were free of the city were entitled to its privileges was still as strictly enforced at the end of the fifteenth century as at any previous time, the protection of trade interests and the accumulation of wealth were the matters with which the burgesses then more especially concerned themselves; and in the reign of Henry VIII. a resolution was adopted by the inquests that the Members of Parliament for the city should be chosen from members of the Common Council, and the competency of the inquest to make any such regulation of binding force having apparently been called in question, the Council in 1588 threatened with disfranchisement any freeman who should "give his voice or make any labour or motion to the contrary of this ordinance."[1]

Probably the greatest difficulty of the freemen of Hereford arose in connection with the powers vested in the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter as Lords of the Manors, which included within their ambit a large part of the city within the walls and by far the larger portion of the land without the fortifications, but within the liberties. These great ecclesiastics insisted that over their own tenants they had exclusive jurisdiction, that the officers of the city could not enter their precincts to arrest a criminal or to execute process, that their tenants were free from all city tolls and taxes, and, indeed, that they had a right to participate in the revenues of the city, and these contentions, though often hotly contested by the citizens, were from time to time recognised both by

[1] Johnson, *Ancient Customs of Hereford*, Second Edition, p. 181.

agreements between the Bishop and the city, and in royal charters.

As early as the reign of Henry I. a charter granted to the Bishop a three days' fair at the Feast of St. Ethelbert, the duration of it was afterwards extended to nine days, and it was not until the reign of Queen Victoria that the rights of the See of Hereford under this charter were put an end to on a purchase by the citizens, confirmed by statute. During the continuance of the Fair the government of the city by its Bailiff was superseded: the keys were delivered to the Bishop, and justice seems to have been administered by courts of *pie poudre*—a kind of primitive market tribunal, presided over by the Bishop's Steward.

There are traces not only in the customs, but in various records, of disputes between the Bishop and the citizens. In the reign of Henry III. the citizens insisted, and apparently with success, on their right to sell goods in their own houses during St. Ethelbert's Fair, while admitting the right of the Bishop to toll in respect of all such transactions.

Sometimes quarrels arose as to the rights of the tenants of the Bishop, as in 1290, when the citizens denied to the Bishop's men the right of pannage or feeding pigs during the acorn season in Haywood Forest, which the city rented from the Crown; sometimes episcopal admonitions of a more spiritual character were disregarded, as in 1286, when many leading townsmen appear to have set at naught the Bishop's prohibition to any Christian to be present at a Jewish wedding or at the nuptial feast; while the right to distrain within the Cathedral precincts for sums due to the city or the citizens was as strenuously insisted on by the city as it was denied by the ecclesiastics.

But it would be a mistake to treat the relations between the citizens and the Church as one of standing hostility. Much would depend on the character of individual Bishops

and Deans and the Cathedral clergy and their officers; much, also, on the tempers of the leading citizens. Moreover, in early days, at all events, there were other matters to claim their attention, for almost every record that has come down to us from distant times bears traces of the dread of invasion, of capture, or of siege.

Described in one old document as the chiefest of the market villages between the sea and the Severn, in the centre of the fortresses which guarded the Marches, and itself one of the strongest of those fortresses, frequently the residence of the King, and in the midst of the district which was devastated both in the barons' war and in the Wars of the Roses, Hereford was a place where all the inhabitants, whether tenants of the various lords or free burgesses, had many common interests and common enemies, and the centuries that elapsed between the accession of Henry I. and the Battle of Bosworth Field worked great changes in boroughs such as Hereford.

The Black Death, the social changes (of which the Statutes of Labourers and the peasant war are indications), the decay of prædial servitude, and the substitution of money rents for personal services, had largely altered the relations between the various classes. The relations between the richer and more eminent citizens who, as aldermen and men of the election, governed the town, and the bishop and other lords of the fees at the end of the fifteenth century, were probably very different from those which existed between the citizens and those same lords in the old days, when the popular gathering, with its bailiff, formed the municipal authority.

The tenants of the ecclesiastical manors found that their services to their lords conflicted in no way with their duty as citizens. Their disputes were tried either in the City Court or in the King's Courts at Westminster, or before the Judges of those Courts when they held the Assizes, and the rights of the lords were getting to be better understood. Two narratives that have come down

to us will illustrate the relations between the Church and the citizens shortly before the Reformation.

At two of the clock in the afternoon on the eve of the Feast of St. Dennis[1] at the time of the Fair, in the year 1520, one William Hill, sergeant of the King's mace within the City of Hereford, distrained a carpet and pewter pot within the Vicarage of St. John's in the Canons' fee for certain indictments. Which distress the sergeant brought with him till he came before the skalernds, at the Broad Cabach Lane within the Churchyard of St. Ethelbert.

And there came Nicholas Walwyn, one of the residentiaries of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, and pulled the sergeant by the head and would have taken the distress from him. Notwithstanding the sergeant brought the distress to Richard Phillips, then Mayor of the City, and showed him how that he was dealed with. Whereupon the Mayor, his brethren, and the whole commonalty were sore grieved.

Thereupon Mr. William Webb, Archdeacon of Hereford, Mr. Henry Martin, Archdeacon of Salop, with nine of their Chapter, John Brayton, their Steward, and others, went to the Mayor and desired the matter at variance might be had in examination. To whose request and desire the Mayor and his brethren agreed, and by the assent of both parties they were contented to abide the award, rule, and judgment of Mr. William Webb, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Hugh Green, arbitrators on the part of the Chapter; Richard Brown, Thomas Gebons, two of the Mayor's brethren, and Richard Warnecombe, Town Clerk of the City, arbitrators on the part of the Mayor, his brethren and commonalty. Which arbitrators at eight of the clock before noon on the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist the year aforesaid appeared in the Chapter House of the Cathedral Church of Hereford and then and there had the matter at variance in consideration.

Whereupon for unity and peace to be had and continue between Church and City and for a precedent in time coming it was ordered that Nicholas Walwyn be content and pay the said Sergeant six shillings and eight pence, and that the sergeant should desire Nicholas Walwyn to be a good master to him. And also that the Mayor and Nicholas Walwyn, with one Mr. Brayne, another of the residentiaries who, as the Mayor was informed, did provoke the said Walwyn to take the distress from the sergeant, should appear in the Cathedral Church at two of the clock in the afternoon on the Feast of St. Luke, there to meet and take each other by the hands, and, for a sign and token of love between the Church and City, should go from thence to one William ap Thomas Goldsmith's Tavern. At which hour they appeared in the said Church, and there Nicholas Walwyn paid six shillings and eight pence, of which sum, for further amity and love, the Mayor willed the sergeant to omit five shillings: at whose desire

[1] The fair of St. Denis, held in the month of October, had been granted to the citizens by a Charter of Henry III.

he was content. Thereupon, as lovers and friends, they went arm-in-arm to the Tavern, and the Canons of the Chapter there gave in wine to the Mayor and others to the value of twenty pence. And the Mayor delivered the distress to one Ann Gough, and took no more for fine thereof but two pence for a quart of wine.[1]

A letter which has been rescued from oblivion by Dr. Gasquet, written to the Bishop by one of the clergy of Hereford towards the latter part of the sixteenth century contains some account of the various services of the Church in the old Roman Catholic days, and tells us that—

Every Sabbath day and festival day St. Thomas' bell should ring to procession, and the Dean would send his somner to warn the Mayor to the procession. And then upon the somner's warning the Mayor would send the sergeants to the parish Churches, every man in his ward to the Alderman. Then the Alderman would cause the parish Priest to command all the freemen to attend on the Mayor to the procession or lecture. For want of a sermon there should be a lecture in the Chapter House every Sabbath and holy day, notwithstanding they were at high mass in the choir. And then by the Mayor and commons it was agreed at a general law-day that if the Mayor did not come to procession and sermon he should pay 12d. for every default, and every alderman 8d., and every man of the election 6d., and every freeman or guild merchant 4d., if it were known they were absent and within the hearing of the said bell and did not come, which ordinance was and is recorded in the custom book of the City. Then the Dean and Clergy would come so orderly to Church with such a godly show of humbleness and in keeping such hospitality that it did allure the people to what order they would request them.[2]

These narratives certainly suggest that friendly relations subsisted between the citizens and the clergy of the Cathedral, and that the exchange of hospitalities was not uncommon. The adjournment on the settlement of the dispute about the distress when the Mayor and his associates were treated by the Canons to apparently ten quarts of wine illustrates the convivial habits of the period. Whether the payment of the fines for non-attendance at the procession and sermon were enforced

[1] See Johnson, *Ancient Customs of Hereford*, Second Edition, p. 138.
[2] Gasquet, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 11.

we are not told, but if they were, they should have secured a congregation for the preacher, bearing in mind that a penny in those days was worth as much as a shilling at the present time.

But the disputes between the city and the Bishop were not yet at an end. The citizens appear to have maintained their privileges as they understood them, and a very vigorous letter[1] from the Bishop to the Mayor, dated in 1607, has been preserved, which alleges that the Corporation had "lately committed many prejudices to my liberties in Hereford and many violences to my tenants there."

The matters complained of are the enforcement by the City Court of its jurisdiction over the tenants of the Bishop; the denial of the right of the Bishop to "the custody and keys of my gates"; "the special practice of greedy gain" the citizens are alleged to have begun "to call and enforce every poor man of my fee that has a coat to put upon him to become a sworn man of your city"; and the trial at the City Court of the Bishop's Bailiff, who appears to have been imprisoned and bound over to his good behaviour; and the letter also requires, "as my right the custody and keys of your gates to be delivered to my bailiff during the time of my fair."

The answer of the Corporation, though very courteous in form, in effect challenges the Bishop to refer the determination "of your claim and our supposed encroachment" to any judge of the land.

It does not appear how the dispute was arranged, but there are no traces of the Bishop having accepted the challenge to assert his claims in an action at law.

The citizens obtained further charters consolidating and extending their privileges. One was granted by Queen Elizabeth and another by James I., which expressly reserves the rights of the Bishop and Chapter. After an

---

[1] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

attempt by the Crown, in the reign of Charles II., to obtain a surrender of the charter with a view to extend the royal authority in the city, it was in effect renewed by a charter of William III.

But between the grant of the charter by James I. and its renewal by William III., Hereford had, in common with the whole county, suffered grievously during the Civil War. At the outbreak of the war the sympathies of the great majority of the citizens of Hereford were with the King, and as early as October, 1642, possession of the city, on behalf of the Parliament, was taken by the Earl of Stamford. That occupation, however, was of brief duration, for apparently in consequence of it proving impossible to maintain the garrison on the plunder of the surrounding country, the town was evacuated in the following December. In the succeeding April, however, it was surrendered, after a mere show of resistance, to Sir William Waller, but he, in turn, abandoned it to the Royalists, after occupying it for a very few weeks.

Measures were now taken to repair and strengthen the fortifications, and Barnabas Scudamore, a brother of the Viscount, was appointed Governor. Charles I., who stayed in the city for some days in June, 1645, on his way from the field of Naseby to the Marquis of Worcester's castle at Raglan, was received with much enthusiasm, but at the end of the following month the town was again besieged by the Scots under the Earl of Leven. The new Governor, however, had done his duty, and although the walls were breached at Friar's Gate, and the siege pressed by an army of 14,000 men with a siege train, the garrison held out till the beginning of September, when, on the approach of the King, who advanced in person to its relief, the Parliamentary forces retired, and Charles again entered Hereford on September 4th. In the following December the town was captured by a stratagem rendered possible, as it would seem, by the treachery of some of Scudamore's officers.

It was then strongly garrisoned by the Parliament, and an attempt to re-capture it made by Sir Henry Lingen in the autumn of 1646 wholly failed.

The only reward that Hereford obtained for its fidelity was an addition to its coat of arms, with the motto "*Invictæ fidelitatis premium*," granted by Charles I. after the siege was raised in September, 1645, and of which armorial bearings the city is still exceedingly proud; but it suffered grievously as the consequence of the siege and its subsequent capture. Some money appears to have been expended in repairing the castle about the year 1648, but in 1652 it was described as ruinous, and it was demolished shortly after the Restoration. The Churches of St. Martin and St. Owen, which stood without the walls, had been so badly damaged during the siege that they were never repaired, and in the latter half of the eighteenth century all the city gates were demolished.

In 1774, the Corporation, under statutory powers, sold the common at Widemarsh, an estate of a hundred and fifty acres, without the walls, which had belonged to the city from very early days, reserving merely the piece of land which is now used as a cricket and recreation ground. No attempt was made after the demolition of the castle to keep the walls and fortifications of the city in repair, and in many parts they were used as a quarry, and several houses in the city are built in whole or in part with stone taken from the old walls, while only a few remains of those walls exist at the present day.

Hereford, in short, after the Restoration declined into the condition of an unimportant provincial town. In 1776, its population, both within and without the walls, was under 6,000; in 1801, 6,828.

An amusing writer tells us that at the beginning of the nineteenth century only one person in Hereford besides the Bishop had horses to his carriage, and "to evening parties the matrons came in sedan chairs, and the younger damsels walked with a lantern borne before them."

The old guilds still used their privileges to protect their trades, and both the Corporation and the Companies maintained the ancient custom of good living; but the ancient condition of affairs had passed away, the historic Council, with its privileges, had been superseded by the new governing body established by the Municipal Corporations Act, and the old forms of government had given place to modern methods, before the city awoke from its long sleep, and favoured by its situation in the centre of a great agricultural district, and connected by rail with every part of the kingdom, became what it is at present —one of the important towns of the West of England; while in place of the old feud between the City and the Palace, Hereford rejoices in a Bishop, Dean and Chapter, and Cathedral clergy, who, having surrendered their temporal power, so far, at all events, as concerns the right to interfere in the government of the city or with the lives and liberties of the inhabitants, are regarded with the highest esteem as among the most active and useful of the citizens.

W. J. HUMFRYS.

Kilpeck Church Door.

THE HEREFORDSHIRE MONASTERIES.

By the Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A.

THE word "monk," by those who have not paid particular attention to the subject, is applied indiscriminately to all the various religious communities of the middle ages; and it will be well, perhaps, at starting, to clear up any confusion of ideas that may exist in this respect. To begin with, we must draw a sharp line of distinction between the more ancient Orders of regulars and those which sprang up in the thirteenth century. These latter, the Friars, Franciscan and Dominican, were essentially of the town, living among the people, teaching, preaching, and ministering, both spiritually and materially, to the wants of the sick and needy.

Of the more ancient Orders, the earliest is that of the Austin or Black Canons, of which the Premonstratensians, or White Canons, were a reformed branch. These Canons Regular held a middle position between monks proper and the secular clergy. They engaged in parochial duties, while maintaining a community life. Indeed, they much resembled a community of parish priests living under rule, and their houses are more correctly styled convents than monasteries. The term "monk," strictly speaking, is applied only to the members of the Benedictine Order and the various new Orders which took their origin in attempts to reform the abuses which, from time to time, sprang up under the rule of St. Benedict. The most important of these new Orders were the Cluniacs (who,

like the older Order, are called Black Monks) and the Cistercians, or White Monks. Between the Monks and the Canons there was, in England, even from the reign of Edgar, a bitterness of feeling almost amounting to internecine war. This is illustrated, in our county, by the never-ceasing quarrels between the Cistercians of Dore and the Canons of Llanthony, in which, if we may believe Giraldus Cambrensis, the Monks stole from the Canons a church bringing in thirty marks a year, and "do not cease to stretch out greedy claws to their lands and pastures."

Before the Conquest we had in Herefordshire few religious houses: the stories in the Welsh chroniclers of the great monasteries and schools at Hentland, Moccas, and elsewhere, rest upon the vaguest of traditions, and may be dismissed as at least half-mythical. We may also pass by the first founding of a monastery at Leominster by King Merwald in 660 A.D., and make the connected history of monasticism in the county to begin with the second founding of the Leominster house by Leofric, the great Earl of the Mercians, at some time between 1032 and 1046. His foundation was for nuns; and, in 1046, Sweyn, son of Godwin, for whom the Earldom of Hereford had been carved out of Leofric's Mercia, seduced the Abbess Eadgifu—an outrage which was followed by the suppression of the nunnery and the confiscation of its possessions.

There was in Hereford itself, before the Conquest, a Priory of St. Guthlac.[1] The lands of this priory (at Breinton, Dormington, Hinton, Thinghill, Felton, Moccas, Almeley, Middlewood, and Whitney) are given in Domesday, which states also that the Canons of St. Guthlac claimed Pembridge in Archenfield, then held by Alured of Marlborough, Lord of Ewias Harold.[2] The only other

[1] Leland, quoted by Tanner, and followed by many subsequent writers, wrongly says St. Cuthbert.

[2] The entry is as follows: *Hoc manerium Penebruge calumniant canonici Sancti Guthlaci, et dicunt quod Comes Godwinus et Heraldus filius ejus abstulerunt injuste a Sancto Guthlaco.*

religious community in the city as yet was the Cathedral, an establishment of Secular Canons, living under rule, but not apparently in a conventual building. They, too, had been robbed by Harold. Indeed, no superstitious reverence for Church property was allowed by Godwin and his sons to check their rapacious acquisitions. Harold, in particular, took unscrupulously whatever his eye coveted. More than twenty of his acts of spoliation against the Church are on record. The following is a complete list, gathered from Domesday, of what, when Earl of Herefordshire, he took unjustly from the Cathedral:—The Manors of Holme (Lacy), Colwall, Coddington, Hampton (Bishop), Sugwas, Collington, and "Bricge," and in Ledbury one hide called Hasles. To the account of each of these manors is added the note *Hoc manerium tenuit Comes Heraldus injuste. Rex W. reddidit Waltero episcopo.* When every allowance is made for the fact that this is the record of an enemy, we are compelled to judge that Godwin and his sons had no scruple in robbing the Church. Indeed, Sweyn's foul crime against the Abbess of Leominster may even be a viler thing than it seems, if we look at it in the light of a story told by Walter Map (himself a man of our Welsh Marches). He asserts that Godwin deliberately instigated his nephew to seduce the Abbess of Berkeley, that he (Godwin) might obtain from the puppet King, Edward, power to suppress the convent and take its lands to himself. That he held the Abbey lands is certain, from Domesday, where also the horrible charge finds some sort of corroboration in the strange entry which tells us that Godwin's wife, Gytha, would eat nothing from the Berkeley Manor *pro destructione Abbatiæ.*

In the reign of the Conqueror, a few years before the Survey, Walter de Laci built St. Peter's Church, in Hereford, and endowed it with lands at Frome, Ocle, Weobley, and elsewhere. On April 27th, 1084, while climbing a ladder to inspect the all but completed work,

he fell, was killed, and taken to Gloucester for burial. There the Abbey of St. Peter, under its vigorous Abbot, Serlo, who had been Duke William's chaplain, was laying the foundations of its coming greatness. During the thirty-three years of Serlo's rule the Abbey rose from a state of utter poverty, with monks reduced to two, into a position of wealth and splendour, having more than a hundred monks. Its church was rebuilt with great magnificence, eleven years being occupied in the work; and at the dedication, in the summer of 1100, the Bishop of Hereford laid on the altar of St. Peter a grant of lands —an example followed by many of those present, including Harold of Ewias, who endowed for the monks a priory at Ewias Harold, thus introducing into Herefordshire the first community of Benedictines. Next year—1101—Walter de Laci's son, Hugh (who, two or three years later, was the founder of Llanthony), gave to the Abbey the richly-endowed Church of St. Peter at Hereford, which his father had built—*cum prebendis* says the chronicler, from which we may infer that it was already a collegiate church. The Provost and Secular Canons were thereupon changed into a Prior and Benedictine Monks; and a smaller church in Hereford, dedicated to St. Auden, completed the gift. In 1134, Hugh Fitz-Norman (whose son, Henry, assumed the name of de Kilpec) gave a third Herefordshire cell to Gloucester, at Kilpeck, endowing it with the church and lands at "Teyntone" and the chapel of "Silva" (*capellam de Silva*), to which, about 1180, was added the Manor of Bryngwyn, rented from the Priory of Kilpeck by "Roger, son of Roger the Welshman."

At some date before 1148, Robert de Bethune,[1] Bishop

[1] This deed, undated, is undoubtedly Robert de Bethune's (Bishop of Hereford 1131-1148), though he only calls himself *R. Herefordensis d. g. episcopus:* for, in the course of the deed, he mentions Gilbert (Foliot) as Abbot of Gloucester, who held that office 1139-1148, and succeeded Robert de Bethune as Bishop of Hereford. But the chronicler of Gloucester, by a strange mistake, says it was *Anno Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo tertio.*

of Hereford, brought about the union of the Priory of St. Peter's with the Canons of St. Guthlac, and the House thenceforth is usually called by the latter name. St. Guthlac's, it seems, had been, up to this time, within the castle; and in the deed the Bishop says that it must be clear to all pious believers that a castle, the place of strife and blood, is not suitable for the servants of the Lord of peace; so he has reduced *in unum ecclesiæ corpus* the Church of St. Peter, situated *in foro Herefordiæ*, and the Church of St. Guthlac, *intra ambitum castelli ipsius inopportune positam;* and he has caused to be built for them, outside the city, *in loco religioni aptissimo*, a joint church of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Guthlac. The joint Priory, though still a "cell" of Gloucester, acquired considerable power and wealth. Its prior, John de Gamages, became Abbot of the parent monastery in 1284. In 1322, however, a bitter dispute arose between William Irby, the rightful Prior, and Thomas de Burghull, *qui se in prioratum illum intrusit.* Such neglect and impoverishment resulted from this long-continued quarrel that, by order of the King, the Sheriff of Herefordshire took over and for some time administered the revenues of the Priory. A few years later, the then Prior, Robert de Baldock, died in prison, having narrowly escaped hanging—Hugh Despenser was, at Hereford, hanged—as one of the adherents of the dethroned Edward II. At the dissolution, St. Guthlac's was valued at £121 3s. 3d. a year. The other "cells," of Ewias and Kilpeck, owing to their poverty and also to the lax and even dissolute lives of the brethren, had been suppressed long before —Ewias in 1358, and Kilpeck about eighty years later.

The richest and most powerful Benedictine House in the county was established in 1125, when Henry I. gave his rich manor of Leominster, with its sixteen "members," to the stately abbey he had built four years earlier at Reading. From this time onward to the dissolution, the Prior of Leominster exercised wide-reaching authority

over the town and neighbourhood. He appointed the bailiffs, had his own court and prison, and was possessed of an almost palatinate jurisdiction. The Priory seems to have won for itself grants and privileges from laymen and clerics alike. We find one Bishop of Hereford—when the monks, during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, had been greatly reduced *longis tribulationibus et multis adversitatibus*—promising his blessing and offering indulgences to all who helped them with gifts; and we find another Bishop handing over all his rights in Leominster to the Abbot of Reading. The citizens of Worcester exempt the monks from toll; the great Llywelyn gives them a charter of protection; and the Bishop of St. David's threatens to excommunicate "with lighted candle" any of the Welsh who disturb them. Owen Glyndwr, however, seems to have been less kindly disposed, for when he captured Leominster, in 1402, he laid a heavy fine upon the House. At the dissolution, the Priory was valued at £660 16*s.* 8*d.* a year, of which sum £438 4*s.* 8*d.* was paid to the parent House.

The other Benedictine Houses in the county we need scarcely mention, as they were small and insignificant. At Brockbury, in the parish of Colwall, was a "cell" of two monks, subject to the Priory of Malvern Major. At Barton was another small Benedictine foundation, of which nothing is known, save that it was in existence in the reign of Richard I. Lyre Ocle, Monkland, and Titley were subject to foreign Benedictine Houses, and will be mentioned later on, when we come to speak of alien priories.

The history of monasticism is one of alternate periods of decay and revival; and each revival is marked by the rise of one or more new Orders. One of the earliest of these reformed Orders was the Cluniac, founded by Abbot Berno, about 910 A.D., at the little village of Clugny, in Burgundy, where arose one of the most extensive and magnificent monastic establishments in Europe. There is

still extant a most interesting document, in which William, Earl of Warren (created later Earl of Surrey), tells how he introduced the Cluniacs into England in 1077. He was, with his wife, on a pilgrimage to Rome, and they stayed, on their way, at the great monastery of St. Peter at Clugny. They found the holiness, religion, and charity of the monks great beyond all their expectation. The Prior, in the Abbot's absence, treated them with special attention, and all the brethren shewed great friendliness, "so that we learned to esteem the Order of Cluni above all others." On his return, the Earl founded, near his Castle of Lewes, a Religious House, and obtained from Cluni a prior and monks for it. "Thus it was," concludes the pious Earl, "that I and my wife procured a convent of Cluniac monks in England." In Herefordshire, Clifford Priory was founded as a "cell" of Lewes by Simon Fitz-Richard-Fitz-Ponz, in the reign of Henry I. Roger, Earl of Hereford (son of Milo of Gloucester), John of Monmouth, and others, gave lands to the new Priory at Clifford, Framtone, and Hardwick, together with the church at Dorston. It was long a disputed point whether the Cluniac Houses were not alien priories, as subject to Clugny. King Edward III., during the war with France, appropriated the priories of Clifford, Titley, and Craswall as "subject to certain religious houses in foreign parts, hostile to us." The monks of Clifford, however, were able to prove, after full enquiry, that Lewes was the independent head of the English Cluniac Houses, and that they, as subject to Lewes, were not an alien priory. At the dissolution, Clifford was valued at £57 7*s*. 4*d*. a year.

In 1147, or a little later than the reconstituting of St. Guthlac's by Bishop Robert de Bethune, the Cistercian Abbey of Dore was founded by Robert FitzHarold, Lord of Ewias. The Cistercians, or White Monks, were the strictest Order of reformed Benedictines; they owed their real origin, in the year 1098—when the Cluniac foundations had become as worldly and as relaxed in discipline

as their predecessors—to a countryman of our own, Stephen Harding. In 1147, they were already famed as the society to which belonged Bernard of Clairvaux, whose fatal eloquence, in the very year of the founding of Dore, had hurried out to the East more than a million men on the disastrous second Crusade. The monks of Dore, according to Giraldus, were grasping, avaricious, and self-indulgent, beyond their fellows. It was a misfortune, he says, to the villages of Bacton and Ewias Harold that they lay so close to Dore. Indeed, it became a proverb in all the Golden Valley, "They are bad neighbours, like the White Monks." They got possession of the Church and certain lands at Bacton by actual forgery. Enriched by these unrighteous deeds, and by practising upon the sick and dying ("especially the Welsh," says Giraldus, himself a Welshman, "as they were simpler-minded and more easily deceived"), the monks of Dore began, about 1185, to build their church upon a magnificent scale; but the nave was not finished until nearly a hundred years later. When at length completed, the Church was consecrated by Bishop Cantilupe at the risk of his life, owing to the armed opposition of the Welsh partisans of the Bishop of St. David's, who claimed Dore as belonging to his diocese. The charge brought against the Cistercians by Walter Map—that they turned whole parishes into waste lands to avoid having the rival authority of the secular clergy, is borne out in the case of Dore; for when they got possession of Bacton Church they allowed it to fall into absolute ruin; and men even forgot that it had ever been a parish. Hence the claim of the Bishop of St. David's that the abbey was in Ewias Harold parish, and therefore in his diocese. At the dissolution, the lands of Dore were granted to John Scudamore, whose successor, John, Viscount Scudamore, restored the church, and re-endowed it with its tithes. It is usually considered that Lord Scudamore added the present tower, but architects are now inclined to date it earlier, and

refer it to one of the later Abbots before the dissolution.

The oldest of the religious Orders—that of the Austin Canons—possessed in Herefordshire four Houses—Flanesford, Wormesley, Wigmore, and Acornbury, this last foundation being a priory of nuns. Flanesford was a small House founded by Richard Talbot, Lord of Goodrich, in 1347. Its value at the dissolution was only £14 8*s.* 9*d.* a year. Of Wormesley Priory there exists in manuscript a voluminous cartulary, from which Dugdale has printed some seventeen charters, dealing with grants of land in Lyonshall, Dilwyn, King's Pyon, and elsewhere. Unfortunately, the manuscript is imperfect at the beginning, and so we have not the charter of the founder. Dugdale says the founder was Gilbert Talbot; others say Richard Talbot, of Painswick. In any case, it must have been founded in the reign of John. It seems to have been a House of seven Canons, and was valued at the dissolution at £73 10*s.* 2*d.* a year.

The story of Wigmore Abbey would in itself fill a volume—and still awaits a sympathetic writer, who would make it live for us, doing for Wigmore what Carlyle, with such marvellous insight, has done for St. Edmundsbury. We cannot here attempt even to give an abstract of the tale, as told in a Norman-French manuscript printed by Dugdale. It occurs to me—not for the first time—in reading this narrative, to ask why the layman's story in Norman-French is always so much more graphic and picturesque than the Latin annals of the monk. Is it the language that makes the difference? Or is it the wider outlook upon life, and greater interest in its richness of colouring, which gives the layman the advantage over the cleric? At any rate, this story of Wigmore, with its quaintly vivid touches, brings up before us the whole life of the distant middle ages. We meet first with Lord Hugh Mortimer, "the most glorious knight, renowned and feared before all who were then living in England." Like many lords and

wealthy men in more modern times, Lord Hugh, "wishing to give himself up freely to his amusements and delights, without charging himself with or intermeddling with other things," left the management of his estates to his seneschal, Sir Oliver de Merlymond. The story here is very similar to that told of Lewes by the Earl of Warren; for Sir Oliver goes on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostello, *et fut bel et corteisement receu a graunt honour* by the Abbot of St. Victor at Paris. On his return he founds a monastery at Shobdon, and places there some Canons of St. Victor. It is the year 1141—two years after the Empress Maud had landed at Portsmouth—a year of war, chaos, and pillage. It is very striking, and entirely characteristic of the times, that, while King Stephen and the Empress were fighting at his very doors, storming Weobley and capturing Hereford, the good Sir Oliver, returning *mout pensif* from the shrine of St. James, is concerned only that Shobdon has no church, and, while building one, is thinking only "in honour of what saint it should be dedicated when it was completed." We have in plenty, as always in the middle ages, feuds and quarrels, *descord trop graunt et hidous*—between Lord Hugh and Sir Oliver; between Lord Hugh and Joce de Dynant, Lord of Ludlow; between Lord Hugh and Milo of Gloucester; and between this last magnate and the Bishop of Hereford, in which quarrel *l'evesk exkumega*[1] *l'avant dit conte.* The Canons, too, are not without their troubles. Lord Hugh, hot-headed and self-willed, is always springing on them some new annoyance: gives them, on one occasion, notice to quit, with only *respit jesk a un an ensiwant de fere demeore;* moves them to Eye, near Aymestry, and later on to Wigmore itself, where they find "great deficiency, particularly of water"; "the ascent to the church," moreover, is disagreeable to them; and, to their Parisian ears, "the language of their neighbours is very vulgar and coarse." Of one Prior

[1] *Anglice* excommunicated.

after another we read *il returna a sa mesun de Seinct Victor.* The Canons petition the Abbot of St. Victor that he would recall them to their well-loved Paris, and send in their place *freres neez et norriz en Engleterre qui sussent parler et entendre langage d'Engleterre et qui sussent la maner des Engliz.* At this time King Henry II. was wroth with Lord Hugh, and besieged him *en sun chastel de Brugenorth.* The Bishop of Hereford, seeing the protector of the Canons "surrounded on all sides by his enemies," tried to rob them of their church at Ledbury; but they clung to it, in spite of all the Bishop's threats, *come bonez gentz de religiun, amantz le profit de lor mesun.*

At last they find a place which suits them well, not far from Wigmore; and here they build the abbey which was to be their home for more than three hundred and fifty years. The new church is dedicated, in 1179, to St. James. But Lord Hugh dying some years after this, new troubles arise from Roger, his son, who claims back various manors which his father had given to the abbey. But the Canons bravely "put their trust in God, and would not suffer a single foot of the manors to be taken from them," although they were "quiet people, who hated to quarrel with their lord." They "prayed humbly and devoutly night and day that he might not remain long in peril of his soul by reason of them"; and, St. James coming to their rescue, and causing Lord Roger's infant son to die, he is cut to the heart, and leaves them in free possession of their own. Here, reluctantly, we must leave for a time the good Canons of Wigmore, and turn to other communities.

The Priory of St. Katherine,[1] at Acornbury, for a

[1] So a Bodleian MS. Others say it was dedicated to the Holy Cross: several of the Charters say to St. Mary, others again to St. John. The Cartulary is still extant, and has been carefully catalogued in the Eighth Report of the Public Record Commission. I may add that a MS. of the time of Henry III., followed by some modern writers, says wrongly that Acornbury was a Priory of *moniales albæ, i.e.*, Premonstratensians.

Prioress and seven Austin nuns, was founded by Margery, wife of Walter de Laci, who obtained from King John for its endowment a grant of "all the forest of Acornbury except Athelstanwood." The Laci and Clifford families and Sibilla de Ewias made various grants to the nuns. Even monks under a strong Abbot or Prior found it hard, as we have seen, to escape from spoliation at times; and it is not surprising that the nuns of Acornbury suffered from the encroachments of their neighbours. In the reign of Henry III., William de Cantilupe, Hugh de Kilpec, and Herbert de Burgh had stripped the Priory of well nigh all its possessions. When, however, Hubert de Burgh fell into disgrace, the King took over his share of the spoil (much the largest portion, as it happened), and eventually (49 Henry III.) restored it to the nuns.

The reformed Order of Austin Canons, called Premonstratensians (from the little plot in Laon called the Pratum monstratum, said to have been given them by St. Bernard) had one little House in Herefordshire, at Holme Lacy, founded by William Fitz-Warin, at the beginning of the reign of Henry III., and endowed with lands bought for the purpose from Walter de Laci. About the nunnery of Lymbroke, Limebrook, or Lingebrooke, there is considerable confusion in our accounts. It is certain that a Priory was founded there at some time before the reign of Richard I. (when it appears in the list of Gervase of Canterbury). Leland says it was founded by the Mortimers; a Harleian manuscript of the time of Queen Elizabeth gives Robert de Lingen as the founder. One account says it was an alien Priory, which is impossible, since it survived until the general dissolution under Henry VIII. Dugdale, apparently without authority, calls it Benedictine. Bishop Booth's register at Hereford says they were Austin nuns, whilst a manuscript in the Bodleian makes them White nuns; and there we must leave the question.

The Military Orders were well represented in the

County. The Templars had Preceptories at Garway and at Upleadon. The Preceptor of Garway, Philip de Mewes, was one of the unhappy band who, at the suppression of the Order in 1311, were tortured *usque ad judicium sanguinis*. At Garway, too, it was alleged that James de Molay, the Grand Master of the Order, compelled novices to deny Christ, otherwise "they would be put into a sack, and carried to a place which they would find by no means agreeable." The Hospitallers had, at Dinmore, one of their most important Preceptories, with subject houses at St. John's in Hereford ("in Wydmer Street without the North Gate") and elsewhere.

We have yet to speak of the alien Priories. These were almost entirely the result of the Norman Conquest. The Barons who obtained so much of the conquered land were many of them descendants of the founders of foreign monasteries, and looked back lovingly to the land they had left. Thus it came about that churches, manors, and tithes passed into the hands of Norman Abbots. The process was begun by William FitzOsbern himself within a few years of the Conquest. He had founded the Monasteries of Lyra and Cormeilles, in Normandy, and his gifts to them of Herefordshire lands are recorded in Domesday. To St. Mary of Cormeilles he made grants at Kingston, Marcle, King's Pyon, "Lene" (Monkland), Marlow, Stanford, and Clive. I can only find one Herefordshire grant of his to Lyra, of land at Marcle. But, later on, certainly before 1160, the Manor of Ocle was given to Lyra by one of the Chandos family, and a Priory established. In Monmouthshire (then part of Herefordshire) the Priory of Llangua was subject to Lyra, and in later days was befriended by Lord Edmund of Lancaster, brother of Edward I. and Lord of the Three Castles.

As time went on, other gifts were made by other lords to foreign Houses. The foreign monks, to guard their rights and collect their revenues, built on their English

lands the small "cells" or convents which are known as alien Priories. The very object of their existence being to send money out of the country, the alien communities were at all times the most unpopular of the monastic establishments. Whenever France and England were at war, the Priories dependent upon foreign Houses were seized by the King. John is said to have been the earliest to lay hands upon them. But the first serious confiscation was under Edward I. in 1294. Edward II. did the same, and retained the alien Priories until his death, when Edward III. restored them. Ten years later, however, he reverted to the policy of his predecessors, seizing the property of all French aliens, lay and ecclesiastical alike, and keeping it in his hands for twenty-three years. The Priories were again seized by Richard II., and restored by Henry IV. In 1414, the second year of Henry V., all foreign cells were formally dissolved, and their estates vested in the Crown or given to colleges or other monasteries. The exact number of these alien cells is not known, as, after each confiscation some were not re-established, and new ones were occasionally added.

In Herefordshire we have records of four of these alien cells. But it is quite possible that there were others which were suppressed in early days. Lyre Ocle we have already referred to. The cell of Titley was subject to the Abbey of Tyrone in France; that of Monkland (founded by Ralph de Toni in the reign of William Rufus) to the Abbey of Conches in Normandy. Both these were Benedictine foundations. At Craswall was a larger and wealthier cell, consisting of a prior and ten monks of the Grandimontane Order, which was confined almost entirely to France, and possessed, so far as is known, only two other houses in England. One wonders how these Grammontine monks, of an Order so small and so little known, found their way into the wilds of Ewias. It is said that the Priory was founded by Walter de Laci towards the end of the reign of John; and certainly the

few charters of Craswall that remain are concerned with gifts of the Laci family. I find also the name of Simon de Clifford, Prior of Craswall, as witness to one of the Acornbury charters. Craswall survived the great suppression of the alien priories in 1414, but was seized by the Crown in 1462, the second year of Edward IV., and granted to "God's House College," now Christ's College, Cambridge.[1]

A fresh departure in the history of monachism is to be found in the great thirteenth century movement, which resulted in the establishment of the Mendicant Orders, or Friars—Franciscans, Dominicans, and the various reformed branches of these parent Orders. The Friars being essentially of the town, it is only at Hereford itself that we hear of them. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, arrived first, about 1278, and established themselves at Portfield on land apparently belonging to the Cathedral, for, after some dispute, they were removed by Bishop Cantilupe to the northern suburb, where, by the reign of Edward III., they had an extensive Priory and Church.[2] The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, arrived in Hereford a few years later than the Dominicans, and a House was provided for them by Sir William Pembridge not far from the Bishop's Palace. Bishop Swinfield, who was himself a Franciscan monk, gave them certain lands.

We have now completed our survey of the monastic establishments in Herefordshire, since the Portionists of Bromyard and the Hospital and College of Ledbury were, like the Cathedral, communities of secular priests. It remains briefly to consider the events connected with the dissolution of the monasteries in our County. On the general question of the dissolution it is difficult to come

[1] At "Feverleye," according to Leland, was a "House of Freres, suppressed *olim*, and the lands given to Wygmore and Lynebroke." This —if it be not due to some confusion with "Ferneleye" or Hereford, where "Freres" had establishments—must refer to some small alien Priory, of which all record is lost.

[2] The open-air pulpit of the Dominicans is still in existence.

to an impartial judgment. We may admit, on the one hand, that the monasteries had done their work, and that some of them, at least, had become worldly and corrupt. But it is abundantly clear—the records of our own County will prove it—that Henry VIII. or, rather, Thomas Cromwell, who originated and carried through the scheme of suppression, was actuated by the meanest and most selfish of motives. There is in existence a letter from the Visitor who had been sent to enquire into the financial and moral state of Leominster Priory, in which he says to Cromwell: "I thyncke it good that your honourable lordship have respect unto the same house, for it wyl be a right goodlye thing for your lordship or for your sone. For I ensure you theare is not suche another turf within the kinge's realme." William Penison, again, who sought to obtain the office of Receiver at the dissolution of Reading Abbey (the parent House of Leominster), writes to Cromwell: "Herewith I present unto your lordship a diamond set in a slender gold ring, . . . and when I moved unto your lordship not long ago of the dissolution of Reading Abbey," etc. A month later he gets the office. Cromwell and his agents—these latter proved by their own letters to have been utterly venal and self-seeking place-hunters—being "prosecutor, judge, and jury in one," could, of course, do as they would, and say what they pleased. Yet even they are constrained to admit that one-third of the religious Houses they visited are blameless and well conducted; and we may be well assured that their reports on the other two-thirds were far from impartial; for, at the beginning of the enquiry, Dr. Richard Layton, the chief inquisitor, and Cromwell's most subservient tool, made the great mistake of praising what he saw at Glastonbury, whose venerable Abbot Cromwell had resolved to kill.[1] For this misplaced eulogy Layton was

[1] Among the casual "remembrances" in which, with businesslike brevity, Cromwell ticked off human lives, is the following: "Item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and also to be executed there."

severely taken to task by Cromwell, and his letter of apology is one of the most abjectly pitiful productions ever penned. "My excessive and indiscreet praise must needs redound to my great folly and untruth. . . . I most humbly beseech you to consider that I am a man, and may err, and cannot be sure of my judgment to know the inward thoughts of a monk, being fair in words and outward appearance, and inwardly cankered as now by your discreet inquisition appeareth. . . . I most humbly beseech your lordship to pardon me for that my folly then committed, . . . and from henceforth I shall be more circumspect whom I shall commend to your grace."

With Visitors who set about their work in this spirit,[1] it is easy to see how the "Black Book" came into being. Our border monasteries were certainly not the most blameless. They were doubtless influenced by the irregular and lawless nature of their neighbours in the Marcher lands. We have seen that the monks of Dore were notorious for greed and rapacity; and two centuries before the dissolution we find the Abbot of Gloucester complaining that "when monks well trained in the life and conversation of the monastery are sent one after the other to stay at Ewias, they bring back such worldly and, as it were, boorish habits, that, the contagion spreading to their brethren, the religious tone of the said monastery is seriously wounded." The monks of Leominster and of Wigmore often fell under the displeasure of the Bishop. As early as 1286, Bishop Swinfield was compelled to draw up a document called the "Corrections of Wigmore," which might almost have been written by Dr. Layton himself, so gloomy is the picture it gives of monastic life. That veracious Visitor, finding it, apparently, beyond his power to improve on this description, found in Wigmore

[1] Layton even writes in one place to promise beforehand a report of the "evil disposition both in the Abbot and the Convent," which he had not yet visited: "whereof, God willing, I shall certify you in my next."

itself a certain John Lee, Canon of the Abbey, who, with marvellously imaginative ingenuity, drew up a list of twenty-nine "Articles to be objected against John Smart, Abbot of the Monastery of Wigmore in Herefordshire." The charges brought in this document exceed in enormity anything alleged elsewhere against a monk. Brother Lee starts with mild charges, such as simony and the purchase, with jewels stolen from his own monastery, of a faculty to confer Holy Orders, by selling the exercise of which privilege the Abbot made a thousand pounds. Then, passing lightly over the "keeping of concubines divers and many women that is openly known"[1] and "the spending and wasting much of the goods of the said monastery upon the aforesaid women," we come to "the death and murdering of one John Tickhill that was slain at his procuring." After all these crimes it comes as something of an anti-climax that "the said Abbot hath taken but small regard to the good living of his household." Brother Lee considerately adds that he "will not name now the woman that the Abbot would have had by violence, that dashed out his teeth." We get, perhaps, some little insight into Brother Lee's motives from his constant complaints that the Abbot "hath yet a special favour to mis-doers and man-quellers, and by them is most ruled and advised"; or that "he that least knew was most cherished by him." This informer may have been a relative and tool of Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield

[1] There is in the Bodleian a MS. which professes to give "the names of such persons as be permitted to live in adultery and fornication for money." This list of names (all from our Diocese) includes "the Vicars of Ledbury, Stow, and Clun, the Dean of Pontesbury, the Parson of Stratton, Sir Morris of Knighton, Priest, with many others within the Diocese of Hereford." I cannot bring myself to believe that this is anything more than a malicious way of referring to the new custom of the marriage of the clergy. Henry VIII., like Elizabeth after him, was opposed to the marriage of priests: but, having at one time given some reason to suppose that he was not against such marriages, many of the secular clergy married, and drew down upon themselves much censure in consequence. It may even have been that they were fined, but not separated from their wives. Hence the malicious sneer, "permitted . . . for money."

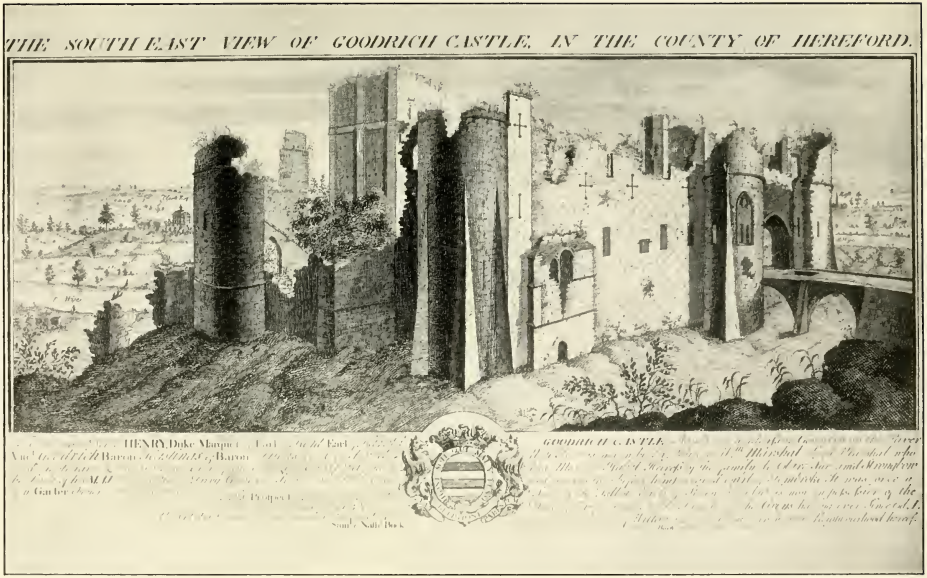
and Coventry, and President of the Marches, who directed the work of spoliation. It is clear, however, that good Brother Lee somewhat overshot his mark, for the Abbot, instead of being hanged for his various crimes, received a pension of £80 a year. The abbey buildings were destroyed, and James Reynolds, the royal metal melter in Herefordshire, spent more than eight days in tearing down the lead from the roof and casting it into pigs, which were carried into Wigmore Castle. Here Bishop Lee himself superintended the collection of spoil, which was brought in waggons from all the religious Houses in the neighbourhood.

Some of the lesser monasteries (fifty-seven out of three hundred and seventy-six in the whole kingdom) purchased from the King a temporary respite from extinction. For a consideration in money—with a bribe to Cromwell thrown in—the King was induced to grant them a new charter "in perpetuity," which turned out to mean for two or three years. The Prioress of Lymebroke thus purchased a new lease of life for her Convent (January 8th, 1537) by the payment of £53 6s. 8d. At the close of 1539, however, the nuns were called upon to surrender to the King, and pensions were promised to them if they yielded quietly. The Prioress, Juliana Barbor, received £6 a year, with fifty-three shillings a year to each of the four remaining nuns. John Scudamore's bill for obtaining these pensions for the *pauperes moniales* was £5 13*s.* 4*d.* Wormesley Priory paid (January 30th, 1537) no less than £200 for a similar respite.

John Scudamore was the King's Receiver-General of the goods of the suppressed monasteries for the Counties of Hereford, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcester. He collected, we are told, among much other spoil, no less than two hundred bells. We find him, in July, 1539, with his son, William, "mesuring the ledes, and taking the contents" of the Friars' Houses in Hereford, "and further

taking a note of all the friars' names." In the same month a certain Mr. Bradeshawe, "who hath the demeans of Wigmore," writes, asking him "to be so good as to survey the demeanes thereoff, and such things as he shall have in ferme." Some of his accounts would seem to have remained long unsettled; for the Wigmore land having been sold to a Mr. Sheldon, John Scudamore, as late as the reign of Philip and Mary, was called upon for an outstanding balance. Richard, Bishop of Dover, was at Hereford in the summer of 1538 to help in the work of suppression; and Bishop Barlow, of St. David's, the Commissioner for "the removynge of ydolotrous abused ymages, wherewith this county horribly did abounde," sent up to Cromwell a miscellaneous collection of "relykes," including "Malkows ere that Peter stroke of, as yt ys wrytyn."

ARTHUR T. BANNISTER.



Goodrich Castle.

GOODRICH.

By Prebendary Seaton.

VARIOUS derivations have been suggested respecting the name. In all the earliest records the parish or church is spoken of as the parish or church of "Castel Godrici" or Godrich; hence it appears that the parish derived its name from the castle or founder of the castle. Two only need be mentioned, *i.e.*, first, from Goda, sister of King Edward the Confessor, who married William Medantine or De Maunt, and their son Ralph raised an army in Herefordshire to suppress Earl Godwin, who had rebelled against Edward the Confessor. The Normans found Ralph in possession of this honour, and divested him of it, and placed William FitzOsbern in command; hence the name "Goda's reich," or territory.

Or, secondly, it may be derived from "Godric," the founder or owner of the Castle. William the Conqueror ejected Godric, Abbot of Winchcomb, from his monastery, and imprisoned him at Gloucester. The *Liber Niger de Scaccarii* contains a charter relating to this Abbey, which states that William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, held, *inter alia*, and owed to the Abbot of Winchcomb two knights' fees for Castel Godric.

There can be little doubt that the Castle was originally built to resist the incursions of the Welsh, who, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, made frequent and powerful irruptions into Herefordshire. To counteract these, the defence of the borders or marches was assigned

to the Lord Marchers, who exercised extensive powers. Goodrich was one of the chief castles in the Lower or Southern March, and owes its importance to the situation, commanding the ford over the Wye, which, in earlier ages, was the chief highway leading from England into South Wales.

The Castle is built on a precipitous rock overhanging the river, and forming a natural defence on two sides, with a deep dry moat on the other sides. It is a parallelogram in form (176 feet by 152 feet).

The different styles of architecture show that the Castle in its present state was built or altered at four distinct periods. The keep, undoubtedly, is the oldest part, being constructed of quite different stone and style from the rest of the structure; the four corner towers, the gateway, and their connecting outer walls, built out of sandstone quarried in the moat, are Norman, probably in Stephen's reign; the Banqueting Hall in the reign of Edward I.; the State Room, with its graceful Gothic arches and the residence of the Lord of the Castle and his family, in the time of Edward III.; and the embellishments and east window of the Chapel were added as late as the time of Henry VI. or Henry VII. by the Talbots. This is borne out by the fact that up to a recent date the armorial bearings—the figure of a "Talbot" surrounded with the Garter of St. George, and on it an Earl's coronet, carved in stone—occupied a place in the south wall, opposite the seat assigned by tradition to the Lord of the Castle.

The approach on the land or east side was defended by a barbican. Only slight traces of the walls remain. From this outwork or place of muster, access to the moat was obtained by means of an inclined plane to the moat, and so to the stables, situated on the west side. A narrow causeway, partly formed by rock and partly by two stone arches, led to the gateway, in which was a deep pit, covered by the drawbridge when lowered.

The gateway or entrance, having the Chapel on the left and a tower containing the porter's lodge on the right, was strongly fortified (i.) by the drawbridge when drawn up; (ii.) by two strong oaken gates; (iii.) by an outer and inner portcullis; (iv.) by two inner oaken gates; and (v.), lastly, by stone projections or pilasters in the wall, into which baulks of timber could be inserted, backed by earth and stones.

The entrance is vaulted, with machicolations for pouring boiling water or molten lead on the heads of assailants, with slits in the walls of the chapel on the left, and the porter's lodge on the right, for communication. Access to the latter was obtained by a narrow gallery in the thickness of the wall.

Over the entrance are the warder's two chambers. In the larger, lighted by two fine windows, was the windlass or machinery for working the drawbridge and portcullises. The grooves in which the axles worked still remain.

On entering the courtyard (and facing the keep) the chapel is on the left. It consisted of three stories: underneath was a vault or cellar; on the ground floor was the chapel; over this was a gallery leading from the octagon tower to the warder's chamber and to an apartment with a fireplace, which tradition assigns to the chaplain.

Three recesses in the chapel with stone seats are let into the walls. That on the north is assigned to the Lord of the Castle: it has a slit for communication with the entrance passage, and a stone staircase in the wall, giving access, through the warder's chamber, to the covered passage leading to his own apartments. In the seat in the south wall is a recess, too small for a confessional, probably used for concealing the sacred vessels in troublous times. At the east end of the chapel are the remains of an aumbry, a credence table, and sedilia. Near the west end there are two niches, one in each wall, for holy water.

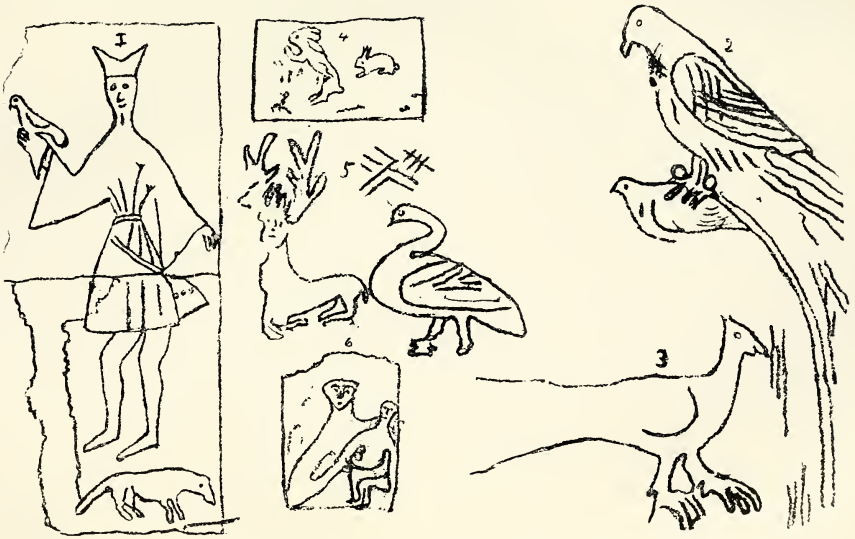
Adjoining the chapel stands an octagon watch or beacon tower, containing the staircase which gave access to the gallery of the chapel; also to the room over what is supposed to have been the stable of the Lord (now in ruins), and used as barracks for the men-at-arms. Beyond this stable were three privies with pits.

On the south side of the courtyard stands what is termed the garrison tower or state prison, with three chambers. The lower one was a dungeon, and the middle one has a fine fireplace and two windows. On the inner jambs of both are the carvings (see illustration). The upper chamber has also a fireplace and two doors communicating with the covered passage in the walls.

On the right of this tower, which is circular on the side facing the moat and square on the inner sides, was a stone staircase leading to the outer walls and also to a platform (under which was a dungeon) leading to the door of the middle or principal chamber in the keep, which also consisted of three rooms, the lower being a dungeon. A circular stone staircase in the corner of the wall led from the middle room to the upper one, and so on to the flat roof.

The architecture of the keep is earlier and quite different from the other towers. Mr. King, the best authority on ancient castles, pronounces it to be Saxon, the windows being, in his opinion, of that era, the frames being pillars with round shafts that have their usual bases and caps, from which spring semi-circular arches. Insertions of a much later date have been made in these windows: from a plinth at the bottom there arises a pilaster in the middle and one at each corner; below the upper window is a chevron work or zig-zag ornament, which is continued on a fillet on the other inside walls. What the top has been cannot be ascertained, as it is now in a ruinous state: probably it was flat, with a leaden roof and a crenellated parapet.

Between the keep and the west or great tower, which



Carvings on the Walls of Goodrich Castle.

tradition assigns to the quarters of the officers, was another staircase; and there are traces of some other building, the use of which cannot be determined. This great tower is also in three divisions, the lower being used as a cellar, with steps communicating with the two buttery hatches in the hall. The middle one forms a fine apartment with stone recesses and seats in the window overlooking the moat. The upper one, or dormitory, has a fine fireplace with carved corbels supporting the stone canopy. From this room access was obtained to the covered way in the thickness of the wall of the hall, and so to the residence of the Lord.

The banqueting hall is a noble room, 65 feet long by 30 feet wide, lighted by two tall slender windows and an oriel one on the west, and by two windows in the courtyard wall. It has a fine fireplace, built on a solid abutment in the outer wall. Above this was a small chamber, used, probably, for the protection of the stables below.

The chief entrance was from the courtyard. At the lower end there is a staircase leading to the upper room, and a doorway to the middle chamber of the west tower; also two buttery hatches with steps to the cellar. At the upper end was the dais and a doorway leading to the solar or ante-chamber, where the family and guests of the Lord assembled. Over the solar was another room, with a window or door to a minstrels' gallery overlooking the hall.

Adjoining the solar was the state or withdrawing room of the Lord of the Castle, in which is an octagon pillar supporting two sharp-pointed Gothic arches springing from the side walls. These are still in fair preservation, and are the best specimens of architecture in this Castle.

Beyond was the residence of the family, terminating in a small tower called the ladies' tower, now in a very ruinous condition, owing, it is averred, to a breach being made by the mines of Colonel Birch in 1646. Over these

rooms were the bed-chambers and a covered passage, traces of which remain in the thickness of the outer wall leading to the warder's room over the entrance, and so on to the chapel.

Under the state room is a staircase communicating with a kitchen. The fireplace and sink still remain, but are now concealed by earth brought down by the fall of a tree in the courtyard. A postern led from the kitchen to the outer ballium. On the west side there is a second retaining wall. Between this and the main wall was the pleasaunce and the stables for the horses of the garrison (eighty being captured by the Parliamentary forces in 1645). At the northern extremity of the pleasaunce are the remains of a small tower forming a protection for the stables.

HISTORY OF GOODRICH CASTLE.

THE same obscurity exists respecting the early possessors of the Castle as attaches to its building.

Castles in the Marches were built without any special licence from the King, the Lord Marcher being more of a petty sovereign, with sovereign rights, and therefore there is no grant to be found to any Lord Marcher in Wales either in Doomsday Book or in any early record. The first mention of Goodrich is to be found in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, or Black Book, containing the knights' fees, where it is stated that in or about 1166 "the men of Castle Goodrich owe twenty shillings to the King."

Baderon, Lord of Monmouth and Goodrich, married Rohais, daughter of Gilbert Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, and Isabella, otherwise Elizabeth. He owned land in Goodrich.

Richard De Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Striguil, also surnamed Strongbow, died in 1176, leaving no male issue—only one daughter and heiress, Isabel, who

married, in or about 1184, William Marshall, Earl Marshal, and conveyed to him Goodrich Castle with other possessions. He was created Earl of Pembroke, by right of his wife, and in 1204 a grant of the Castle was made to him by King John. He was one of the greatest men of his age—an astute statesman and a successful soldier; and there can be little doubt that he improved the estates he owned, the manor of Goodrich being one.

By Isabel de Clare the Earl (who died in 1217) had five sons and five daughters. The sons became in succession Earls of Pembroke and Lords of Goodrich Castle. Earl Walter, fourth son, died in the upper chamber of Goodrich Keep on November 24th, 1245, and was buried at Tintern Abbey. His brother Anselm died at Striguil eleven days after him. None of the Earls Marshal leaving any male issue, the Castle passed to their sister Joan, second daughter of William Marshall, who married Warine de Montchensy, and their sons dying childless, it devolved to their daughter Joan, who married William de Valence, who was created Earl of Pembroke by right of his wife. He died in 1296, and was succeeded by his son Aylmer.

Joan de Valence, Countess of Pembroke, resided at Goodrich at various times, and from the roll of her household expenses which has been published some idea can be obtained of her retinue. The De Valences were rich and powerful; they are credited with some of the additions (possibly the banqueting hall and state rooms) to Goodrich Castle.

Earl Aylmer died in 1323 without issue. His sister Joan succeeded to the Goodrich property. She married John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, one of the competitors for the Crown of Scotland. At the death of Joan de Comyn the Castle again passed, in the female line, to her daughter, Elizabeth de Comyn, who married, in 1342, Sir Richard Talbot, second Baron Talbot, of Eccleswall Castle, Herefordshire. They resided at Goodrich, and expended a considerable part of the ransoms obtained

from prisoners in the French wars in improving the Castle, embellishing the church, and in founding Flanesford Priory.

The Talbot family held Goodrich from 1342 to 1616. The grandson of Sir Richard was Sir John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, whose martial achievements are a matter of history. He was slain at the battle of Châtillon in 1453, aged eighty years; and his son and successor met with the same fate at Northampton in 1460, being on the Lancastrian side. His estates were forfeited, and granted by Edward IV. to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

John, third Earl of Shrewsbury, obtained a restoration of the estates, and they were held by his descendants up to the death of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G., who, dying without male issue, they passed to his daughter Elizabeth, who married Henry Grey, ninth Earl of Kent. He died in 1637. Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, survived her husband, and during her tenure of the Castle troublous times were experienced.

In 1642 the Scottish army ravaged and plundered the county of Hereford. The inhabitants of Goodrich suffered to the extent of £38 3*s.* 6*d.* The Castle was at that time held by the Parliamentary forces under Captain Kyrle (son of Mr. Kyrle, of Walford Court), with his troop of seventy horse and thirty foot.

The Rev. Thomas Swift, then Vicar of Goodrich, had incurred the displeasure of the Earl of Stamford and his party for two reasons: First, it was alleged that he had bought arms and conveyed them into Monmouthshire; secondly, because he had preached a sermon in Ross Church upon the text "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's," in which the Earl said he had spoken treason in endeavouring to give Cæsar (*i.e.*, the King) more than his due. Being of a mechanical turn, he devised the "caltrop" or cheval trap, formed of iron, with four spikes, and so contrived that one spike must always be with the point upwards.

Swift owned a small estate in Goodrich, and built thereon a house of curious design, tripod in form, with three wings starting from a central hall. It was called New House, and still remains; a tablet in the porch bears the date of its erection, *i.e.*, 1636. This house was pillaged five times by Captain Kyrle and his Lieutenant, Fleming, who in the end robbed the Vicar of property to the extent of £300—a very large sum in those days—and cleared the homestead of all available property, and even the food and clothing of his ten children and servants.

On December 3rd, 1642, the garrison at Goodrich was withdrawn, and the Earl of Stamford abandoned Hereford.

No mention of Goodrich Castle is made until 1644, when it was held by Sir Henry Lingen, Sheriff of Herefordshire, for the King. In that year Colonel Massey, with two pieces of ordnance, advanced upon Ross. He found the passage of the Wye at Wilton Bridge guarded by thirty musketeers from Goodrich Castle, under Captain Cassie, but forded the river below the bridge.

Sir Henry Lingen (who had been knighted by the King in 1645) retired to Goodrich Castle after his escape from Hereford in February, 1645.

In March, 1645, Colonel Birch, with a hundred musketeers, attacked the Castle. One dark night his men planted ladders, and surmounted the outer wall on the west side, and before an alarm could be given, slew the stable guard of five men, broke through the wall, and captured eighty horses. The stables and the straw and provender were then set on fire, and much damage done. On the same night the out-guard at the boat-house protecting the ferry was attacked, and after two hours' stubborn resistance captured. The major in command and fifteen men received quarter.

In June, 1646, the Castle was invested by Colonel Birch. He cast a mortar piece, carrying a shell of

200 lbs. in weight, and mined the Castle wall in various places. A breach having thus been made, and nearly all their ammunition and supplies being exhausted, Sir Henry Lingen, together with fifty gentlemen and other officers, capitulated on July 31st, 1646. Shortly afterwards, Parliament ordered the Castle to be "slighted," the lead to be stripped off the roofs, and sold.

In 1649 the Countess of Kent was awarded £1,000 by the Council of State in compensation for the demolition of Goodrich Castle, which has remained in a ruinous condition ever since. The estates being settled on herself, she held them until her death in 1651, when they passed to Henry, tenth Earl of Kent, who was in possession but a short time. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Anthony, eleventh Earl of Kent, who died in 1702.

Henry, twelfth Earl of Kent, son of Anthony, was created Viscount Goodrich of Goodrich Castle in 1706, and Duke of Kent in 1710. He was Lord Lieutenant of Herefordshire. At his death in 1740, leaving no male heirs, the Castle was sold to Admiral Griffin, of Hadnock. From him it passed to George Griffin, and at his death to his daughter Catherine, who married Major Marriott, of Sellarsbrooke; and in 1876 she gave the Castle and Manor of Goodrich to her adopted daughter, Louisa Marriott, her late husband's great niece, on her marriage with Edmund Fletcher Bosanquet, Esq., and she is the present possessor.

FLANESFORD PRIORY.

IN 1338 a licence was granted to Sir Richard Talbot, second Baron Talbot, of Eccleswall Castle, to found a chantry and to give and assign certain lands and a water-mill in Walford, Hope Mansel, Goodrich, and Whitchurch to certain chaplains within the liberty of the Castle of Goodrich. After his marriage with Elizabeth Comyn they

determined to found a priory at Flanesford, within a short distance of the Castle, and on the banks of the Wye, in honour of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and specially St. John the Baptist. In 1346 a commission was issued by John, Bishop of Hereford, to Thomas Talbot and Roger de Breynton to lay and bless the first stone of a monastery for Black Canons (Augustinian). The property given to the chaplains of the chantry was assigned to this Priory as an endowment. Later, in 1346, another commission was issued to the same Canons of Hereford to instal John Cosyn, Canon of Wormesleigh, as first Prior of Flanesford.

At the dissolution of the religious houses, a grant of Flanesford Priory was made to George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, by King Henry VIII., on June 4th, 1538, together with all its lands and possessions, valued at £14 11*s.* 4*d.*, to hold in chief, by rendering one-twentieth part of a knight's fee (valued at £1 9*s.* 1¼*d.*). It is further specified in this grant that the Earl was to found a chantry on the site of Flanesford Priory, to which was assigned the bells, ornaments, etc., and that he and his successors were to maintain a chaplain for this chantry to celebrate Divine services every day, and "to pray for our healthy state while we shall live, and for our soul when we shall have departed." This stipulation seems never to have been carried out. Only one part of the buildings remains, with Gothic windows in the upper storey. Probably this was the hall of the Brethren—now used as a barn—or it may have been the chapel.

The foundations show the priory was not of large dimensions.

GOODRICH CHURCH.

THE church is dedicated to St. Giles the Abbot, and is styled in all ancient deeds the "Church of Castel

Godrich." No mention of it is made in the *Liber Llandavensis* under the head of "de Ercyng" or Archenfield, in which territory it is situated; but in the year 811 Kenulph, King of Mercia, amply endowed the Abbey of Winchcomb by charter with several possessions in the county of Hereford, and probably this parish was a part of them.

The earliest record is found in the Coram Rege Roll, 1196 to 1216, when an assize was appointed to enquire who last presented to the vicarage of the Church of "Castle Godrich," which shows that a church was in existence at that period.

It is quite clear from the styles of architecture that this church was built at different periods. To the tower and spire no date can be assigned. The stone used in the former and the masonry bear a strong resemblance to the keep at Goodrich Castle.

The nave and chancel are Early Perpendicular; the north aisle, which formerly was the Lady Chapel, Decorated. Here is an east window of which Silas Taylor gives this explanation: "In y^e^ Chapple of y^e^ Church northward is in y^e^ glasse the picture of an Angel holding an escutcheon with 4 coates quarterly. 1. Gules lion rampant and bordure engrailed Or. by y^e^ name of Talbot. 2^d^ two lions passant, theire colours lost: the 3^rd^ as y^e^ first, the 4^th^ as y^e^ second: in the same window is an escutcheon with 4 coats quarterly. 1^st^ G. a lyon crowned A, 2^dly^ a Cheveron Gules 3^rd^ as y^e^ first the 4^th^ as y^e^ 2^nd^." These old coats of arms still remain in this window.

On the south side of this aisle or chapel is a tomb of stone, between the aisle and chancel, elevated about five feet from the pavement, neatly adorned with pilasters: tradition assigns it to be that of Sir Richard Talbot, founder of Flanesford Priory, and that it was placed in the church at the Dissolution.

Under the Holy Table is the tomb of Dean Swift's grandfather. It bears the following inscription:—

Here lyeth the Body of
Mr. Thomas Swift
Who died the second day of June 1658
Aged 62 years and tenne months
Who was Vicar of Goodridge 34 years

Thomas Swift, styled the Loyalist Vicar from his strong support to the King's cause, married Elizabeth Dryden, and had ten children, all born at Goodrich. His grandson, the Very Rev. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, presented the chalice used by his grandsire in the administration of the Holy Sacrament to the sick to the parish, and it is still cherished as one of the most precious relics of former ages. It bears the following inscription round the foot, *above:*

Jonath: Swift . S. T. D Decan: Eccles: S^ti Patr: Dubl: ^n
hunc Calicem Eccles: de Goderidge, sacrum voluit;

and round the foot, *beneath:*

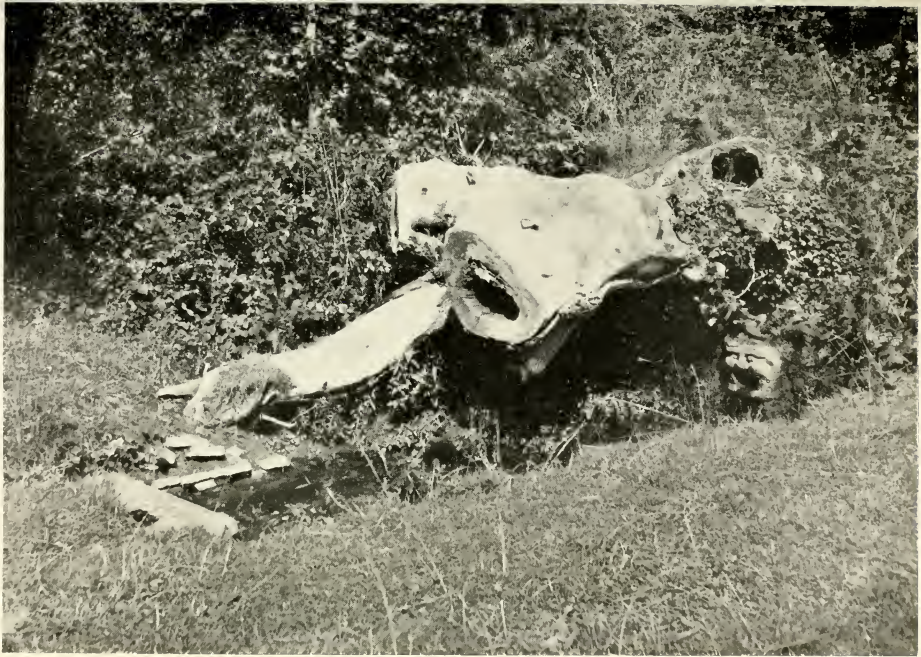
Tho: Swift hujus Eccles: Vica.^r notus in historijs ob ea quae fecit et passus pro Caro: jmo, ex hoc Calice aegrotantibus propinavit eundem calice: Jonath: Swift S. T. D Decan: Eccles: S^t Patr: Dubl: ^n. Thomæ ex filio nepos huic Eccles: in perpetuum dedicat 1726.

FOLK-LORE OF THE SHIRE.

By Mrs. F. H. Leather.

THERE lingers among the country folk in the remoter parts of Herefordshire an amount of superstitious belief hardly credible in this twentieth century. Many still have perfect faith in omens, meanings of dreams, ghosts, and witchcraft. It was at Hereford that the last trial for witchcraft in England took place (1712), thereby closing a dark and tragic chapter in our history. There survives in the Shire the same primitive idea of a sympathy and affinity between humanity and the plant and animal world which is found in folk-lore of all countries.

The most superstitious people are those who live in the cottages dotted round marshes and commons. Their dwellings were originally mud huts which gipsy settlers built long ago, unmolested, on the edge of the common land; and most probably the present occupants have gipsy blood in their veins. Many stories have been told of witches who practised their black arts within living memory, and even now some women are spoken of as possessing the power to cast spells and as having the Evil Eye. One noted witch is said to have stopped a team of four horses drawing an empty waggon near Mansel Lacy Church, so that they could not move. The driver caught sight of the witch in the churchyard, and threatened her with his whip, thereby compelling her to break the spell. This woman also bewitched an old farmer, so that he had no power to pass a certain house



St. Peter's Well, Peterchurch.

outside the nearest village, nor would his horse go beyond the spot. He used to stay in the road, and get children passing to post letters or bring what was wanted from the village, as he could not enter it. At last there was such an outcry against the witch that the vicar of the parish wherein she lived went to her house and burnt all her books, thus destroying much of her evil power. It would be interesting to know if he really believed in witchcraft, or if he acted as he did for the witch's own sake. This happened sixty years ago.

About the same time there lived at Preston Wynne a farmer who was a white wizard. He could remove spells, and was gifted with second sight. Any trouble or ailment that could not readily be accounted for was ascribed to witchcraft, and people came long distances to the wizard, who is said to have nearly always been able to effect a cure. A curious story is told of a visit he once paid to the "Buck" Inn at Woonton, where he had a meal. When he asked what he should pay, the landlady said: "Fourpence for eat, fourpence for drink—eightpence on the whole." The old farmer considered this too much—perhaps it was in those days; so he placed the money in the centre of the table on a piece of paper, and drew a line round it with a piece of chalk. When the landlady tried to take it, she began to run round and round the table, unable to stop, saying: "Fourpence for eat, fourpence for drink—eightpence on the whole." The servant came in and tried to reach the money, but the spell came upon her also, and she ran round after her mistress, repeating the same words. The ostler next made an attempt, with the like result. Another servant went out to the yard, where the wizard was just leading out his horse, and told him what was going on. He said, "You take the money with a pair of tongs—that'll stop 'em." And so it did.

A man went down to Preston to consult the wizard about his boy, who was "not quite right," and thought to

be bewitched. However, he was told that the child was not bewitched, but that someone had laid a very "heavy wish" on him, too heavy to remove. It is generally believed still that anyone with a "bad heart" can wish evil, and that the wish will come true. Hence the expression to "look wisht," that is, pale and sickly.

Mrs. Murray-Aynsley mentions that at Blakemere "lives at the present time a young fellow who is said to be 'a dangerous man,' meaning that he is able by some supernatural power which he possesses to injure anyone who offends him; in fact, he is regarded as a wizard."[1]

It is still the custom to kill pigs when the moon is "increasing." If killed when the moon is on the wane, the bacon will "sink in the bilin'." No Herefordshire housewife bakes without making a cross on the flour when she lays the leaven—to make the bread light. Nor will she take three loaves of bread from the oven at once: it is one of the numerous omens of death. Others are the dying of an ivy on the wall of a house; of bees in a hive; the coming up of a bean with white leaves in the garden. An unseasonable blossom on an apple tree after the apples have "set" is also a sign of a death in the family of its owner.

Any spot where suicide or murder has been committed is thought to be haunted, and many people still will not go through a churchyard after dark on any consideration. Horses are believed to be specially sensitive to supernatural influences. They will stand still and tremble, and refuse to pass haunted places on the road. Anyone who sees or has any communication with a spirit must never tell what takes place. The consequence is loss of reason.

It was formerly the custom to watch the eclipse of the moon in a bucket of water. A mirror is now used for the purpose. If the eclipse can be clearly seen reflected, anything wished at the moment will come to pass.

---

[1] *Symbolism*, p. 159.

Mrs. Murray-Aynsley observed that many of the Hindûs hasten down to the nearest river or tank when an eclipse is expected, and remain in the water until it is over. The idea seemed to be that one should not behold the moon itself at such times—only its reflection in the water. There is thus a curious similarity between the Hindû and the Herefordshire practices on these occasions. Hair grows faster if cut during an eclipse.

A child born with a caul will always be lucky. The caul itself is a charm. Its wearer can never be drowned, and sailors used formerly to give a good round sum for one, so that it was a windfall for a poor mother.

Wicked fairies sometimes get into the churn and bewitch the cream, so that the butter will not come. The spell may be broken by putting in a silver coin.

It is still usual to "tang" the bees in some places when they swarm. "Tanging" is beating a frying pan or old kettle, and making a great noise. This performance gives the owner the right to follow the swarm on other people's premises until it is safely hived.

A pewter plate of salt is still often placed on a corpse until the time of burial, and a light is burned in the room at night.

Hops are a very uncertain crop, and a valuable one, and indications of a profitable yield are eagerly looked for. There is a saying, "A good year of black currants, a good year of hops." An orchard must not be cut down in order to plant a hop yard. A farmer who does this will never pick a full crop.

Any person who entered a hop yard during picking time had until recently to "pay footing" or be "cribbed," that is, thrown into one of the cribs on the top of the hops. One or two of the oldest and fattest women were thrown in, too, and the victim had to kiss them before he was released.

Old people still speak of hearing the death watch ticking in the wall. They also go and tell the bees of

a death in the family, tapping the hive three times, saying:—

Little brownie, little brownie,
Your master's dead,

or mentioning the name of the deceased. It is said by some that the bees will die if this is not done; by others that another death will follow.

The door must not be closed after a funeral until the mourners have returned, or there will be another in the twelvemonth. There must not be an odd number of mourners, for the same reason. It is also unlucky to have an odd number of guests at a wedding. It brings bad luck to burn three lights in a room; to turn a bed on Friday or on Sunday; or if two people get over a stile at the same time, or meet and pass on the stairs. It is lucky to put on a stocking accidentally wrong side outwards, but to reverse it will "turn the luck" for the day.

The catkins of the hazel nut are called "lambs' tails," and must not be brought into the house, as this will cause a bad lambing season. Those of the round-leaved, sallow, little round fluffy things, very like a gosling's downy back, are called "gulls" (the Hereford word for gosling), and similarly have a fatal influence on their namesakes if gathered. The first lamb seen in the spring brings luck through the year if its head is seen first, and trouble if its head is turned away.

It is unlucky to hear the cuckoo indoors for the first time in the spring. The occupation of a person at this time will be the most frequent one through the year.

If the cock crow in the daytime, a visitor may be expected. A smoky film hanging from the bar of the grate has the same meaning. If the fire burn on one side of the hearth there will be news of a wedding; but if the fire-irons are placed on one side, there will be a family quarrel; also foreshadowed by crossing the blades of knives.

Mothers object to having their babies weighed; they

do not thrive afterwards. A baby must be taken upstairs before it goes down, or the nurse stands upon a chair with it, so that in future it may rise in the world. If a baby cries loudly at its christening, it will be a good singer.

A girl who wishes to know her future husband must count a hundred white horses as she meets them. The first man she speaks to after seeing the hundredth horse is her fate. He can also be made to appear if a pea pod with nine peas in be placed over the front door. It must be gathered by the maiden herself, and placed there secretly.

The superstitions before given are not all peculiar to the county, but current at the present time, and firmly believed in by many.

Superstitious cures and charms are numerous. Two charms were given by an old lady of ninety-two as of great practical value. Here they are:—

FOR BURNS OR SCALDS.

Out fire, in frost.
In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

This is given by Samuel Pepys in his diary, preceded by—

There came three Angells out of the East,
The one brought fire, the other brought frost.

His is probably the original version.

FOR NETTLE STINGS.

Out nettle, in dock.
In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The words of the charm must be repeated nine times in a voice inaudible to the sufferer, who, on his part, must have perfect faith in it. Nettle or nettle stings may be cured by rubbing on dock leaves, and nettles and docks are said to grow always together.

A charm may be communicated by a man to a woman,

or *vice versa*, but if given to one of the same sex it is useless. Here is one:—

FOR TOOTHACHE.

Orl (alder) in wood ashes,
Ash in wood coals,
Pull out the tooth
And put snuff in the hole.

This was written on a piece of paper, and sewn up in black silk, to be worn by a man as a cure for severe toothache. He never knew what the silk contained, but wore it till his death, and said he never had toothache after he put it on. Bedeguars, the galls of the wild rose, are worn or carried in the pocket to prevent this troublesome complaint.

Cures for warts are many. A barbarous one is as follows: "Take a live snail, and rub the warts with it, bury it alive, or impale it on a blackthorn. This must be done secretly; and as the snail shrivels the warts will disappear." Or they may be counted, and as many grains of wheat as there are warts made into a packet. The person who has the warts must stand where four roads meet, and throw the packet over his shoulder, without looking round. The person who picks it up will have the warts.

A wen on the neck is cured by rubbing in "oont's" (mole's) blood. "But ye must ha' faith," said one old woman; "faith is the main." The hand of a corpse applied to a wen is also said to cure it.

Clergy in the county are still sometimes asked for a "sacrament shilling" from the offertory, to cure fits. It is made into a ring, and worn by the sufferer.

A sure protection for children from convulsions:—Get a piece of silk about one inch in width, long enough to fasten round the child's neck. Go out and find someone else's donkey—not your own. Take enough hairs from its back, where the cross is, to stretch all along the silk, sew it in, and tie it round the child's neck.

Whooping cough may be cured by feeding the child from a bowl made of ivy wood. At one time, when there was an epidemic of whooping cough at Blakemere, an old woman said to the rector: "Lor' bless you, sir, when I was a girl we thought nothing of it! We never troubled the doctor. The child was taken to the mill, and the miller set the mill going, and said, 'In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I grind away this disease'; and it always went; *always*."

It is still the custom—and it seems to be a local one—to bake on Good Friday, and keep a loaf, marked with a cross. People believe that this bread will not go mouldy, and that it is a remedy for many complaints if powdered and given in water. Mrs. Murray-Aynsley narrates the legend connected with this practice:—As our Blessed Lord was carrying His cross on the way to His crucifixion, a woman who had been washing came out of her house, and threw her dirty water over the Saviour. Another woman standing by with some freshly-baked bread said to her: "Why do you treat that poor man like that—one who never did you any harm?" She gave our Blessed Lord a loaf, which He ate, and said: "From henceforth, blessed be the baker, and cursed be the washer"! (*sic*).

Herb cures are innumerable. The water figwort (scrophularia aquatica) is called the "black doctor," and is used for poultices, to cure sores, and heal cuts. A decoction made out of the inner bark of the "ellern tree" (elder) and hops is good to drink for inflammation in "dumb animals or Christians." A "recipation" given for a sore throat is to tie the stocking taken from the sufferer's *left* foot round the neck, with the foot inside, on going to bed. The throat will be well in the morning.

It used to be said the fairies danced among the ruins of the old Roman city at Kenchester—Magna Castra—and this belief lingered long after the ruins were removed. Leland, *temp.* Henry VIII., wrote: "Here then yet appear

ruines of buildings, of the whiche foolish people caull (*sic*) one the King of Fayres Chayre." Ashmole, a century later, was more enamoured of occultism, inasmuch as he gives "An excellent way to get a fayrie," *e.g.*, first take a broad-square crystal or Venice glass, three inches by three, and lay it on three Wednesdays or three Fridays in the blood of a white hen, afterwards washing it in holy water, and fumigating it. Obtain three hazel sticks of a year's growth, and plane them flat on one side; *write the name of the fairy you wish to call* three times on each prepared surface, and bury the sticks under some hill "where, as ye suppose, fayries haunt." Take them up again on the Wednesday before you call her, and again on the next Friday; call at eight, three, or ten o'clock, being of clean life at the time, and turning towards the East as you call; "and when you have her, *bind* her to that stone or glasse."

As instancing the fact that superstition dies hard, it may be mentioned that when Garnstone Castle was being built a century ago the builders commenced on the site of the ancient manor-house which had been pulled down, but the fairies carried away the stones every night, and eventually the present site, lower down the hill, was chosen. This is in effect identical with the legend of the Devil's Churchyard at Ipsden on the Chilterns, with the difference that it was Satan, and not the fairies, who deported the church St. Birinus was commencing to the valley below. There are old people who profess still to credit this tale of fairy interference.

Fifty years ago the Hereford yeoman well merited old Fuller's quaint description:—"He is the sweet landmark, whence foreigners may take aim of the ancient English customs." Now but a few of these survive, and are kept up only here and there.

The year began with the ceremony of "burning the bush." This took place at five o'clock on New Year's morning, in the earliest-sown spring wheat field. The

original custom seems to have been to light a fire in each corner, and in some places a long pole with straw tied round it was used. But now it is usual to light one fire of straw and bushes. The "bush" is a branch of hawthorn, with four twigs at right angles. These twisted together are said to represent our Lord's crown of thorns. It is kept for a year in the farmhouse kitchen, and when burnt a new one is made to take its place. While it remains burning the men stand round the fire, singing, "Old cy-der, old cy-der, old cyder!" bowing low as they sing in a very deep monotone. One of the men ran with some of the fire on a "pikle" across thirteen ridges or "lands." If it kept alight, it was a good omen for the harvest. Mistletoe is taken into the house with the bush, and kept hanging up with it for the year—it bodes ill-luck to bring it in before.

"Wassailing," another old custom, now discontinued, was kept up with spirit on the eve of Twelfth Day. About six o'clock the men went again to the earliest wheat field, well supplied, of course, with cakes and "old cyder," and lighted thirteen fires on as many ridges, one larger than the rest. Then followed wassailing, or drinking of healths. The fires are said to represent our Saviour and His Apostles. Both these customs seem to be of very ancient, probably Druidical, origin, the remains of some heathen ceremonial that was changed on the introduction of Christianity to accord with the new faith. The bush is still burnt regularly in the parishes of Eardisley and Kinnersley.

Returning from the wheat field on Twelfth Night, the men used to take a cake, and place it on the horn of the favourite bullock in the stall. He was then prodded with a "pikle" until the cake was thrown off. If it fell into the "boosey" (manger), it belonged to the cowman; if behind, into the stall, to the ploughboy; and if it stayed on his horn, to the dairymaid. Then followed the usual

toasts and merrymaking, and the following verse was sung:—

> Here's to thee, Benbow, with thy long horn,
> May God send thy master a good crop of corn—
> Wheat, rye and barley, and all sorts of grain.
> If I live to this time twelvemonth may I drink to thee again.

An additional toast:—

> Here's to the plough, the fleece, and the pail,
> May the landlord ever flourish
> And the tenant never fail.

At twelve o'clock on Twelfth Night it is believed that the oxen go down on their knees in remembrance of our Lord's birth in a manger. The "Holy Thorn" grows at several places in the county: Wormesley, Ledbury, Stoke Edith, and Colwall each had or still have one. It is said to come into bloom at twelve o'clock on Twelfth Night. Parties were made up annually in Weobley to go to Wormesley to see it, and they brought sprays of it away. A newspaper correspondent in January, 1898, testified that he saw the Holy Thorn "in fair blossom" at Rowlestone on Twelfth Night that year, but whether it bloomed then, and then only, according to tradition, he could not say.

Mid-Lent Sunday has always been called "Mothering Sunday." It is still usual for children to visit their parents on that day, taking with them a cake called a Simnel cake.

On Palm Sunday, the custom prevailed, as elsewhere, of bearing green withes, instead of palms, in commemoration of our Lord's entry into Jerusalem. The day is also celebrated in a curious manner at Hentland Church. "The churchwardens present to the clergyman and to each of the congregation a small cake, which is eaten within the church, as evidence of a desire to lay aside all enmities, and to prepare for the Easter festival. It would be interesting to trace the connection, if any, between this custom and the ancient practice of sin-eating. Formerly

a cup of beer accompanied each cake, but this part of the ceremony has now been abandoned." This custom was observed also at Sellack as late as 1867.

The practice of "sin-eating" referred to, being peculiar to the Welsh border, was discontinued before the end of the seventeenth century. The following description of it, given in Brand's *Antiquities*, is taken from the Lansdowne manuscripts:—

> In the county of Hereford was an old custom at funeralls to hire poor people who were to take upon them the sins of the party deceased. One of them (he was a long, lean, ugly, lamentable poor rascal), I remember, that in a cottage on Rosse highway. The manner was that when a corpse was brought out and laid on the biere, a loaf of bread was brought out and delivered to the sin-eater over the corpse, as also a mazar bowl of maple, full of beer, which he was to drink up, and sixpence in money. In consideration whereof, he took upon him, *ipso facto*, all the sins of the defunct, and freed him or her from walking after death. This custom alludes, methinks, to something of the Scapegoat in the Levitical Law, and though rarely used in our days, yet by some people was observed even in the strictest time of the Presbyterian Government. . . . The like was done in the city of Hereford in those times where a woman kept, many years before her death, a mazard bowl for the sinne eater.

Another account says that the sin-eater "pronounced the ease and rest of the soul departed, for which he would pawn his own soul."

Dr. Schuyler, in his book on Turkestân, describes a corresponding custom:—"In Ach Kûrgân . . . he met an old man called an *iskâchi*, who made his living by taking upon himself the sins of the dead and devoting his life to prayer for their souls."

Easter Sunday was called "Corn-showing Sunday." Master, mistress, and men went to the earliest wheat field with a plentiful supply of cake and old cyder; taking wisps of straw in their hands, they marched across the field, singing:—

> Every step a reap,
> Every reap a sheaf,
> Every sheaf a loaf,
> And God send the master a good harvest.

This custom was kept up at Henwood, Dilwyn, until a few years ago.

"Easter Monday and Tuesday were called 'heaving Monday and Tuesday,' because on those days people would go round 'hoving.' On Monday they hove the women. A party would go round to the farmhouses and cottages, the youngest wench carrying a bunch of flowers. Entering the house, the party would sing, 'Jesus Christ is risen again.' Then they seized the women one by one, and putting them in a chair, turned them round, while the girl with the flowers would dip them in a basin of water and sprinkle the women's feet. On Tuesday they 'hove' the men."

On May Day, boys and girls still go out in the early morning, and gather green birch boughs, which are nailed on the stable door, with a horse-shoe, upside down, to keep away witches and wicked fairies, so that they shall not ride or torment the horses.

At Preston-on-Wye the people decorate the graves and the memorial tablets in the church on May 2nd; but they can give no reason for the custom.

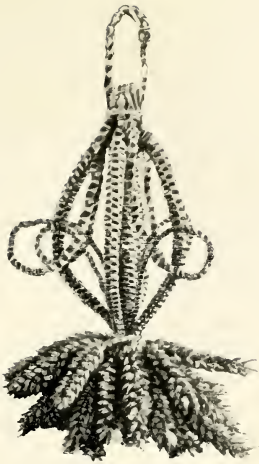
Apples are not good for food until after St. Swithin's Day, when they are blessed by the Saint.

A "Court Leet" is still held at Eardisley every five years, followed by a perambulation of the bounds of the manor, akin to the custom of "beating the bounds" of the parish annually, once general in Herefordshire.

St. Thomas' Day was called "Gooding Day" or mumping day. A quartern measure of wheat was given to every poor woman who called at the farms for it, to be added to what she had gleaned after harvest.

On St. Stephen's Day (December 26th) farmers used to bleed the oxen which were then used to work in the fields, and the cart-horses.

It was considered very unlucky for a woman to visit the house on Christmas Day, especially if a man had not been there before. The mistress would take a man or



Wheat Plait or "Knack,"
made from the "Mare."

"Bush" Burnt on New Year's
Morning.

Galls of the Wild Rose, Worn as a
Charm to Prevent Toothache.

boy through all the rooms in the house, and give him a shilling for "bringing in the luck" on Christmas morning.

Before the days of reaping machines, the last patch of corn left in the field was called the "mare." The reapers tried to cut it down by throwing their reaping hooks at it. The one who succeeded had the mare, and either gave it as a present to the mistress of the farm, or used it to make a wheat-plat or "knack," which is hung with the "bush" in the kitchen for luck. This corresponds to the German custom of leaving the last sheaf of rye in the field as an offering to the Röggenwulf.

In hop-picking time, two of the finest poles of hops were preserved to be decorated with ribbons and coloured paper. They were stuck into the ground near the door of the homestead on the day of the harvest home, and afterwards the hops were hung in the kitchen. In France, a branch of a tree is decorated with corn, and carried in triumph on the last waggon from the harvest field.

At Peterchurch there is a piece of land called the "Dog Acre." It was bequeathed to Peterchurch to be held by the "dog-whipper," whose duty it was to drive stray dogs from the church. A man named Perks held this office within comparatively recent times, and he had one of the special implements, "something like wooden tongs," which were used for the purpose.

Wells and springs were from earliest times regarded as objects of nature worship among primitive peoples, and were said to be haunted or presided over by kind or cruel spirits. On the introduction of Christianity to Britain, the names given to the streams by the Druids, who worshipped running water, were changed to those of saints; but the old superstitions and customs connected with them were retained. On New Year's Day in Herefordshire the first pail of water drawn is called the "cream of the well." Duncumb mentions this in connection with a holy well at Dinedor, and says that the "cream" was presented to some neighbour as a mark of respect and

pledge of good fortune. However, it was usually kept for the mistress by one of the maids at every farmhouse, and placed in her room, to be used for washing that morning. It was said to be beautifying and lucky.[1] A present was always given for it.

There are numerous holy wells in the county formerly celebrated for healing qualities. St. Peter's well, at Peterchurch, was good for rheumatism. There still exists a bathing place and a stone head of St. Peter, with an opening at the mouth for the water. Two other springs near were good for sore eyes. It was necessary to throw in a crooked pin as an offering to the spirit of the wells before using the water.

St. Ethelbert's well, at Marden, is said to have gushed out from the ground miraculously at the time of the burial of the saint.

Tradition has it that a fish was once caught in the river Dore with a golden chain round its body, which was afterwards kept in the golden well from which the river rises. There is a sculptured stone, painted, in the church at Peterchurch, representing the fish, with its gold chain.

Herefordshire is rich in traditions and legends. Mordiford, a village near the junction of the river Lugg with the Wye, is said to have been the scene of a combat between a winged dragon and a condemned malefactor, who had undertaken to fight with the monster for his life and liberty. He succeeded in killing the dragon, but was slain by its poisonous breath. To commemorate the conflict, a large green dragon, web-footed, was painted on the west end of the church. Unfortunately, the painting was destroyed in 1811.

Two small cone-shaped hills near Canon Pyon are

[1] As far back as 387 St. Chrysostom, preaching an Epiphany sermon at Antioch, said people at that festival drew running water at midnight and kept it a whole year, and often two or three, and it remained fresh and uncorrupted. . . . Such water the Germans called *heila wæ*, and ascribed to it a wonderful power of healing diseases and wounds, and of never spoiling.—*Holy Wells of England*, p. xvii.

called "Robin Hood's Butts." The story goes that Robin Hood stood on one, and shot an arrow on to the top of the other.

It is said that St. Thomas de Cantilupe, coming into Hereford from his palace at Sugwas, heard the bells of his cathedral ring to welcome him, without human agency. He built a cross, now the White Cross, to mark the spot. Other authorities, however, allege that the cross was erected after the plague which visited Hereford in 1347. The markets were held outside the town, to avoid infection, where the cross now stands.

Marden has also a legend about a bell which rings at the bottom of the Lugg, near Dinmore, echoing the bells of the church.

The following are a few of the folk rhymes and sayings current in the county:—

Sutton Wall and Kenchester Hill
Are able to buy London were it to sell.

Poor Weobley, proud people,
Low church and high steeple.

When Burton Hill puts on its cap,
Weobley men put on their hats.

When the bud of the aul[1] is as the trout's eye,
Then that fish is in season in the river Wye.

A dish and a spoon,
Say the bells of Bish Frome.

Dirty Cowarne, wooden steeple,
Cracked bell, wicked people.

Lusty Tarrington, lively Stoke,
Beggars at Weston, thieves at Woolhope.

Trip a trap a trencher,
Say the bells of Lemster.

The children's game of "tick," or the counting-out game, is thought by some to be a survival of the ancient method of divination by lot. The current version of the

[1] An "aul" is an alder, from the Anglo-Saxon *alor*.

rhymes which follow have evidently been brought up-to-date:—

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven,
All good children go to heaven.
Penny on the waters, twopence on the sea,
Threepence on the *railway*, and out goes she.
O-U-T spells out, and out you must go.

Or this:—

Ena, dena, dina, doh,
Catch a nigger by his toe;
If he holloas let him go,
Ena, dena, dina, doh,
O-U-T spells out, and out you must go.

The Cornish version of this has been less modernised, and is probably nearer the original, "mi" and "di" being the ancient British ordinals:—

Ena, mena, bora, mi,
Kisca, lara, mora, di,
Eggs, butter, cheese, bread,
Stick, stock, stone, dead. O-U-T, out.

It is significant of the antiquity of these rhymes that examples almost identical in form are in use among savage tribes to-day.

The custom of carol-singing at Christmas is not nearly so general as formerly. Long ago traditional carols used to be sung really well to old tunes. Mr. H. C. Beddoe has a copy of a local carol called "The Bosbury Carol," printed as a broadsheet by a Ledbury printer. There are eighteen long verses, of which this is the first:—

When we were all, through Adam's fall,
Once judged for to die,
And from all mirth, brought to the earth
To dwell in misery,
God pitied then His creature man,
In Scripture, as you may see,
And promised that a woman's seed
Should come for to make us free.

O praise the Lord with one accord,
All you that present be,
For Christ, God's Son, has brought pardon,
All for to make us free.

Although too modern to come under the head of "folk-lore," the following local curiosities in verse may be of interest:—

A Song, written on the Repeal
of the Cyder Tax,
obtained by the strenuous exertions of
VELTERS CORNEWALL,
who represented the County of Hereford
in seven successive Parliaments.

Rejoice, here's welcome news, come let us merry be,
Since George, our Gracious King, in his great clemency,
So kindly has consented, his subjects' wants to ease,
By taking off the Cyder Tax, which does the kingdom please.

Chorus.—Then let the merry bells ring
In every village round,
And nought but joy and harmony
In every place he found.

Come, jolly Hodge and Will, lay by your pike and flail,
For Susan's gone to fetch our largest milking pail
Brimfull of brave *Old Cyder*, such as Bute never knew.
'Tis liberty! we'll drink until the skies look blue.

Chorus.

It makes the Farmer smile to see the good old dame
So nimble with her liquor, which from the Red Streak came,
Handing it to her neighbours, by which their spirits rise,
Rejoicing that their mills are free from this excise.

Chorus.

A Health to all our members let's drink in merry vein,
To Rockingham and Pratt, let's fill it up again,
Likewise to Pitt and Dowdeswell, we'll stretch our throats still wider,
And all the Moccas Hills shall echo back *Old Cyder.*

Chorus.—Then let the merry bells all ring,
And music sweetly play;
Let shining Bonfires blaze around
To close this joyful day.

Printed in London, 1766, reprinted March, 1818, by T. Davies & Son, Hereford.

At Velters Cornewall's death twelve women of Herefordshire walked in the funeral procession carrying apple

boughs to signify that cyder was in mourning for its champion.

A POETIC WILL.

Proved in the Probate Court of Hereford, 1846.

County of Hereford. } To wit.

I, Tomkins, George, of Ecclas Green,
Parish of Norton Canon,
Before I am ill, do make my will
In favour of my children.

The worldly trash, that I possess,
I leave it all among them;
Commit me to my fellow clay,
Be careful that my debts you pay,
Let no one say I wrong'd them.

Homes and land I leave behind,
What more I need not mention.
My daughters three shall equal be,
I know they will cordially agree,
To divide without contention.

To make them share and share alike,
And each an equal dower.
They may buy or sell, Do what they will,
I leave it in their power.

As is the custom in such case,
And what the law require
My hand and seal I here annex
And leave them Executrixs
Of this my last desire. December 16, 1842.

George Tomkins.

Signed, sealed and publickly declared
All in my own handwriting.
In presence of two witnesses
That came at my inviting,
Who in my presence and also
In presence of each other,
Have witnessed this my only Will,
I never made no other.

Witness { Mary Tomkins.
Elizabeth Tomkins.

ELLA MARY LEATHER.

Glyndwr Tower.

THE HOUSE OF SCUDAMORE.

By E. F. D. Scudamore, Esq.

FOREMOST in the roll of Herefordshire families, and among the most ancient and eminent in England, stands that of Scudamore. To attempt anything more than the merest outline of a history covering a thousand years would be futile; we must, therefore, confine ourselves to a brief notice of the chief points of interest in so long a descent.

It may be truly said that length of lineage without distinction amounts to a reflection rather than a commendation; but in the Scudamore family both will be found combined. Indeed, among the many claimants to the coveted distinction of Norman origin there exists no more authentic instance than that of the House of Escudamour. In those copies of the Roll of Battle Abbey least likely to have been manipulated by time-serving monks occurs the name of "Seint Scudamore." In the Roll from Odoricus Vitalis (Duchesnes's *Scriptor Norman*) is "Seint Scudamore." In the *Chronicles of Normandy*, by William Tailleur, in the said Roll, we find the entry of "Sent Scudemore" (Hollinshed). In the same by William Tayleur, of Rhone, among the Roll of Knights and Esquiers is similarly inscribed the cognomen of "Seint Scudemore." Perhaps one of the most indisputable proofs of origin lies in a surname, and the Norman-French of the ancient patronymic "Escudamour" seems more confirmatory of origin than any recorded documentary evidence. The Norman Scudamores were

so called from their bearing a consecrated shield, viz., *or, a cross patée, fitchée in the foot, gules*, with the motto *Scuto Amoris Divini, i.e.*, by the Shield of Love Divine. These arms had been assumed by the family in Normandy, or, more probably, before their migration from Italy, on account of a valorous deed performed by one of their members in the cause of religion.

On the conquest of England by the Norman adventurer in 1066, amongst the spoils awarded his followers was the demesne of Sancta Keyna, afterwards called Penchirche, and now known as Kentchurch Court, Herefordshire, which fell to the lot of Sent Scudamore, and which from that day to the present time has been the seat of the main line of the Scudamore family. The present owner of Kentchurch, Colonel E. Lucas Scudamore, according to the most authentic records, is twenty-fourth in descent from his original Norman ancestor at Sancta-Keyna.

In addition to this manor of Kentchurch, Sent Scudamore, *alias* Sir Alexander Scudamore, had granted him by the Conqueror the demesnes of Upton and Norton in Wilts., now known as Upton-Scudamore and Norton-Scudamore. The manor of Upton-Scudamore became a matter of dispute about 1167 between Sir Godfrey de Escudemore (son of Sir Walter, Lord of Upton-Escudamore, and grandson of Sent Scudamore) and Robert de Tregoz, who wished to exact service of knights' fee; but Sir Godfrey claimed to hold the manor free, through his ancestor (Sent Scudamore), from the King, and asserted that though he held one knight's fee "*de novo*," he held four anciently "*de antiquo feodo*." There appears, however, some complexity in the tenure of this manor of Upton, for in an ancient deed (Ashm. MSS., Oxford) we find that about 1155 this Godfrey Escudamore had "that whole town of Upton-Escudamore"—"*totam villam de Upton-Escudamore*"—granted him by Robert de Ewyas (whose heiress was afterwards married to Robert de Tregoz) for service of furnishing, every year, one white

war-horse to guard the gate of his castle of Ewyas. The fact that in this ancient deed the manor of Upton is described as Upton-Escudamore shews that it had already been in the possession of the family for some time, and this seems inconsistent with its being "granted" by Robert de Ewyas to Godfrey Escudamore in the reign of Henry II. The probable explanation is that it was an attempt on the part of the new Lords of Ewyas—the Tregoz—to include in their lordship rights which were held direct from the King *in capite*.

Sir Walter de Scudamore, father of Sir Godfrey, and son of Sent Scudamore the Norman, settled at Sancta Keyna, was the first to seat himself at Upton with Norton, and became progenitor of a branch of the Scudamores that for three hundred years produced men of eminence in Wiltshire. "There," says Matthew Gibson (*Churches of Door, Home Lacy, and Hempsted, etc., etc.*, 1727), "their names will stand upon honourable record." They were also in high esteem with the neighbouring county of Dorset, where, in 1307, 1311, and 1312, we find Sir Walter de Esquidemor sheriff. The ancient church of Upton Scudamore was partly, if not entirely, built by a member of the family, and to this day one of the aisles is called "Scudamore's aisle." In the transept of the church is a recumbent effigy in the dress of a Knight Templar. This, apparently, is that of Sir Walter de Scudamore, who was engaged in the Holy War; whilst the chancel window is emblazoned with the cross *patée* of the ancient Scudamore arms. This Wiltshire branch of the family allied itself by marriage with some of the most exalted families from Normandy, *e.g.*, Sir Godfrey de Scudamore wedded the co-heiress of the great Norman house of Giffard, viz., Matilda, daughter of John, Lord Giffard, of Brymsfield, county Gloucester. She died in 1227, and was buried "with the monks" at Tintern, a few miles from Kentchurch: "Matilda de Escudamour obiit die 12 Junii 1227, apud fratres Tyntarn." *En passant*, there seems food for

reflection in the fact that whilst the splendid burial-place of this Norman Matilda has crumbled to decay, the seat of her race at Kentchurch remains still the home of her family, though nearly seven hundred years have rolled away.

The Scudamores continued at Upton until an event of importance to the family took place in 1354, viz., the marriage of Sir Thomas Scudamore, younger son of Sir Peter Scudamore, Lord of Upton Scudamore, with Clarice, the eldest daughter of Jevan Whelyn and Clara de Ewyas. This Clara was of the blood royal, and appears to have been the ultimate heiress of a large portion of the estates of the Tregoz family, who, through marriage, had obtained the lordship of Ewyas. Although the descent needs verification, it has been stated that the father of Clara was Richard de Ewyas, whose mother, Sibylla, was the daughter and heiress of Richard de Ewyas, the second son of Robert FitzHarold, eldest son of Harold of Ewyas, Lord of Sudeley, born *circa* 1052. Harold was the son of Ralph, Earl of Herefordshire, who was the son of Goda, daughter of King Ethelred and sister of the Confessor.

The immediate result of this illustrious alliance seems to have been the departure of the Scudamores from their seat in Wiltshire, and their taking up their residence at Holme Lacy, part of the estate of Clara de Ewyas, inherited from the Tregoz'. What became of the mansion or castle at Upton is somewhat obscure, inasmuch as, although in a meadow adjoining the church there could be traced some two hundred years ago the outline of a building conjectured, from its size, to have been the dwelling-place of the Scudamores, it is difficult to understand so complete an effacement of such a structure even in four hundred years. Possibly on the departure of the Scudamores from the county they purposely demolished their old home.

So important was this alliance between Sir Peter

Scudamore and the heiress of the Ewyas and Tregoz families that the whole family of the Scudamores adopted the bride's arms, or, rather, her husband's—the three stirrups, placing them in the first and fourth quarterings of their shield, and relegating their own ancient arms, viz., the cross, to the second and third quarterings. Jevan Whelyn, the bearer of the three stirrups, is described as "a gentleman of King Edward III.'s Court." In addition to the stirrups, the Scudamores quartered, in chief, from Clara de Ewyas the arms of Ewyas and Tregoz.

At this particular point the family became divided into two lines, viz., the Scudamores of Kentchurch and the Scudamores of Holme Lacy.

Returning to the main line at Sancta Keyna or Kentchurch, we find them true to their religious antecedents, bestowing parcels of land on the Abbey of Dore, abutting on their demesne. Sir Walter de Scudamore, in 1149, gave part of his lands called "Fulks Meyd" to this abbey (Harl. MSS., British Museum). His brother, Ralph, also gave land, as also did their descendant, Sibyl, two centuries later, while attached to these charters is the cross, in wax, of the Scudamore arms. This Abbey of Dore was founded in 1147 by Robert FitzHarold, Lord of Ewyas, whose tomb and effigy are still preserved there.[1]

We also find the Scudamores strengthening their position in the County through powerful alliances. Thus Sir Alex. Scudamore, living 1091, married Jane, heiress of Sir Alexander Ketchmey, Lord of Troy and Bigsweir in Monmouthshire; Sir Titus, his son, wedded Joyce, heiress of Sir Robert Clifford, Lord of Clifford; and Sir John de Scudamore took to wife Jane, heiress of Sir Walter de Baskerville, of Eardisley Castle, a Norman family distinction, who were doubly related to the Conqueror. Through these alliances large additions were made to the

[1] For an account of this Abbey we would refer the reader to that recent (1902) invaluable publication, by the Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A.: *The History of Ewyas Harold.*

original estates of Kentchurch. Leland, writing about 1530, and speaking of Sir John Scudamore of Kentchurch, *circa* 1200, says that "Skidmore of the Court" (John Scudamore, of Holme Lacy) told him that "Jenkyn was a stoute fellow and had al the rule of the countery thereaboute," etc., etc.

From the era of the Conquest downwards the Scudamores of Kentchurch were men of eminence, as well as of position. Sir John, Sir William, and Sir Morys Skydemore fought with Edward IV. in France; while at home they asserted their authority over a wide area not only of Hereford, but also of Monmouth, where, amongst others, Sir Walter de Scudamore was a person of "great repute" in the reign of King Stephen.

Shortly (1395) after the important alliance with the heiress of the House of Ewias, a less wealthy, though more romantic, event took place at Kentchurch, which was the marriage of Sir John Scudamore with Alice, co-heiress of the celebrated though unhappy Owen Glyndwr. The Scudamores of Kentchurch appear for many generations to have sympathized with the Welsh in their troubles and persecutions, and possibly the situation of Kentchurch had much to do with this, seated, as it was, on the borders of Wales. Owen Glyndwr, in consequence, became a frequent visitor at the old castle of Penchirche, and the tower yet stands where he was accustomed to conceal himself from his relentless foes. There is also preserved at Kentchurch a curious painting on wood, said to be that of the Welsh chieftain himself.

This family union of the Scudamores with the Glyndwrs became the source of much trouble to the Kentchurch Scudamores, of whom several openly supported Owen's cause in the field; and Sir Philip Scudamore, one of his principal generals, was taken prisoner in 1409, sent to London, and beheaded. By a curious coincidence, the Scudamores of Holme Lacy opposed the Welsh rising, for we find in 1402 Sir John Scudamore, of that place,

defending the castle of Carregcennen against the Welsh chieftain, whom he styled a "false traytor."

The varying successes of Owen and the circumstances surrounding his heroic efforts are amongst the most romantic in the annals of history. Tradition tells how, when more persistently pursued than usual, he would wander about in the neighbourhood of his daughter's home at Kentchurch, disguised at one time in the garb of a shepherd, at another as a minstrel, and now as a wizard. With such a halo of mystery about him, what wonder that "John o' Gwent," as he came to be called, was regarded with a certain amount of superstitious awe. He was credited with the possession of supernatural powers, and, amongst other miraculous performances, is said, "by the aid of his familiar spirits," to have built, in one night, the bridge over the Monnow leading to Kentchurch; "but it could not have been through the evil one," says the narrator, "for he never would have done so good an action." He is also affirmed to have possessed horses which "traversed the air with the speed of Lapland witches," and the stables yet stand at Kentchurch (or did not long since) where these aërial steeds were said to be berthed. There survives, too, at Kentchurch a panelled room, above five hundred years old, said to have been the bedroom of "John o' Gwent," *alias* Owen Glyndwr, and it is whispered that on certain dark and wild nights, when the wind comes roaring across the Black Mountains, a mysterious figure has been seen issuing from a recess in the wall, but whether it is that of the old Welsh chieftain or the shadow of some long-forgotten Sir John de Scudamore, or bygone Sybyl, or restless Joan, rumour omits to affirm.

Owen Glyndwr died in 1415, and there has been much controversy as to the place of his burial. Consistently with the superstitious sayings about him, he is reputed to have made a compact to the effect that, provided the prince of darkness granted him certain

miraculous powers, he might possess Owen's soul after death were he to be buried either in or outside a church. This compact Owen is said to have evaded by being interred under the wall of the east window in Kentchurch church, so that he was "neither in nor outside the church." It remains, however, an open question whether the Welsh chieftain was laid to rest at Kentchurch, the home of his daughter Scudamore, and which had sheltered and protected him in his adversity, and which he loved so well, or at Monnington, where lived his other daughter.

Sir John Scudamore and Alice (Glyndwr) had a son, Sir John, and a daughter, Catherine, married to Thomas Cavendish, ancestor to the Dukes of Devonshire, who to this day quarter the Scudamore arms—the three stirrups —implying that she was an heiress. She died in 1489, and was buried in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate.

In the Wars of the Roses the Scudamores espoused the cause of the Lancastrians, as did those at Holme Lacy, and on the defeat of the Red Rose at Mortimer's Cross in 1461 no fewer than four Scudamores, viz., Sir Johannes Skydmore (the husband of Alice Glyndwr), with his three sons, Sir Henry, Sir Jamys, and Sir William, were beheaded on Candlemas Day, February 2nd, and part of their estates confiscated, that of Moccas being bestowed on the Herberts.

From those times this line of Scudamores has continued, with varying fortune, to reside at Kentchurch Court; indeed, there are few seats in England more hallowed by memories of the past, or around which cling more pathetically romantic associations, extending from the era of the Conquest onwards.

Of the church at Kentchurch little of the original building remains, it having been rebuilt some years ago. It was Norman, being in existence in 1070. The advowson was presented, *circa* 1100, by Harold of Ewyas to the Abbey of Gloucester, and a William de Tregoz was Rector in 1250.

The situation of Kentchurch Court is extremely picturesque, being approached by a long avenue of elms, backed by a noble park. The very air seems to breathe romance, and the imagination unconsciously depicts the scene when it formed the haunt and refuge of the unhappy Owen Glyndwr.

Reverting now to the point at which the Holme Lacy line diverged from the main stem, Sir Thomas Scudamore, the first owner of Holme Lacy, through his wife, Clarice, was known as Sir Thomas de Ewyas, as was also his son, Sir Philip. Sir Philip added much to his estate through marriage with an heiress of Sir John Huntercombe. He served in the wars in France. His son, George, of Holme Lacy, in 1420 married a daughter of John de Burghill, of Burghill. Philip, the son of George, again increased his possessions through wedding an Osborne, and his brother, William, obtained by purchase the estate of Ballingham in 1425, and was progenitor of a branch of the family, afterwards baronets, seated there for some three hundred years, and which is supposed (very doubtfully) to have become extinct. William Scudamore, of Holme Lacy, the son of Philip, married Alice, daughter of Roger Mynors, of Treago, a very ancient family of Hereford. Next comes John, High Sheriff of Hereford in the sixteenth, twenty-first, and thirty-fifth years of Henry VIII., Justice of the Peace, Custos Rotulorum, and (as the inscription on his monument in Holme Lacy Church expresses it) "one of the foure Gentyllmen-Ushers unto his Sovrayne Lord King Henry the Eighte, and afterwarde admitted one of the Esquiers for his Highnes Body." He rebuilt Holme Lacy, and had a chapel consecrated therein by Bishop Skypp, 1 Edward VI. He paid his fine of knighthood in 1 Queen Mary, by whom he was so much honoured that her ministers addressed themselves to him in "Matters of speedy Execution." He was also Receiver at the suppression of monasteries, living to a great age. His wife was Sibyll Vaughan, of Hargest, related to those at

Moccas. His son, William, married the wealthy heiress of Sir John Packington, and Sir John Scudamore, his son, became Gentleman-Usher to Queen Elizabeth, Standard-Bearer, and one of her Council for the Marches of Wales, Member of Parliament for Hereford in five successive Parliaments. He was Custos Rotulorum and High Sheriff in 1581, and, further, a special benefactor to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, while at great expense he built the bridge across the Wye, and with his son, Sir James, won esteem as the "most renowned in England for chivalry," his exploits having been immortalised by the poet Spenser (*Faery Queene*, Book IV.) under the title of the "noble Scudamour." He married Eleanor, daughter of Sir James Croft, of Croft Castle, an historic family seated there from the Conquest. His son, Sir James Scudamore, proved not inferior to him in parts. Camden mentions him among those knighted for their valour at Cadiz. Fuller notes him as a man "famous and fortunate in his time." He was elected Member of Parliament for Hereford in 1603. William Higford, in his *Institutions*, says of him: "A knight on horseback is one of the goodliest sights in the world. Methinks I see Sir James, your thrice-noble grandfather, a brave man of arms, both at tilt and barriers, . . . enter the tiltyard in a handsome equipage, all in complete armour, embellished with plumes, his beaver close, mounted upon a very high-bounding horse (I have seen the shoes of his horse glister above the heads of all the people), and when he came to the encounter or the shock, broke as many spears as the most, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, with a train of ladies, like the stars in the firmament, and the whole Court looking upon him with a very gracious aspect. And when he came to reside with Sir John Scudamore, his father (two braver gentlemen shall I never see together at one time, such a father, such a son), himself and other brave cavaliers, and some of their menials and of his suite, to manage every morning six or more brave well-ridden

horses, every horse brought forth by his groom in such decency, and order, and honour, that Holme Lacy, at that time, seemed not only an academy, but even the very court of a prince."

Sir James Scudamore died in 1619. He was succeeded by his eldest son, John, Viscount Scudamore, born 1600, to give a fitting account of whom would require a volume in itself. Gibson (*1727*), in his account of the "antiquities of the family of Scudamore," devotes upwards of a hundred and twenty pages to a eulogistic description of this nobleman. As a youth he seems to have been remarkably studious, so much so that Archbishop Laud, who was much attached to him, thought it necessary to warn him: "Book it not too much!" After travelling abroad, he returned to his native county of Hereford, in which his interest was unbounded. He imported from France the breed of cattle now known as "Hereford." He also introduced the "Red-streak" apple, whose qualities for making cyder were unequalled. Phillips (*Pomona*) calls it the "Scudamorean plant, . . . whose wine whoever tastes, let him with grateful heart respect that ancient loyal House."

Lord Scudamore accompanied the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham on his expedition, whose untimely end greatly affected him. At the age of twenty, King James created him a Baronet, the patent of which shows the very high esteem in which he was held by that monarch. He was afterwards Ambassador to the French Court—an office he filled with great ability. His interest in his Mother Church was such that he was justly styled a "nursing father," his benefactions being estimated at £50,000. His long conference with Laud as to his moral right to tithes and other church dues granted to his great-grandfather, John Scudamore, is well known, and resulted in his voluntarily restoring such to their original benefices. He almost entirely rebuilt the Abbey Dore Church—*which his forefathers at Kentchurch had helped to found five*

hundred years before—liberally endowing it. He also rebuilt the church of Hempsted, and handsomely endowed it with lands and funds. The benefice of Holme Lacy was also much increased by him, as were those of many other churches. In the Civil War, Lord Scudamore, with the Marquis of Worcester, were the principal leaders in the West for the King, and the sacrifices made by the owner of Holme Lacy won for him a peerage. He suffered much in his estate, as he did in person, being, after most gallant conduct, taken prisoner by Waller, and imprisoned for nearly four years in London. In his efforts in the Stuart cause, he was nobly assisted by his brother, Sir Barnabas, Governor of Hereford, who was knighted for his heroic defence of the city. We may remark here that in the Civil War the Scudamores seem to have been divided in their views, those at Kentchurch siding with the Parliament.[1]

Lord Scudamore was only thirteen years and eleven months old when he married the heiress of Sir John Porter, who brought him the estate of Llanthony Abbey, county Gloucester. The register entry is as follows: "Anno Domini 1614. John Scudamore Esqre., sonne and heir of S^r^ James Scudamore knight, and Elizabeth Porter, sole daughter of Sir Arthur Porter knight were married in Home lacie Chappell the twelfe day of March being Sondaye Anno p^r^ dict 1614." Lord Scudamore died 1671, and, to quote Gibson's concluding eulogy of him: "No good thing can be said of any man which may not justly be said of him, who lived so rare an example of Piety towards God, Loyalty to his Prince, Love to his Country, Hospitality to his Friends, Oeconomy in his Family, Bounty to the Clergy, Charity to the Poor, and Munificence to the Church."

---

[1] For a full account of the very prominent part Lord Scudamore, and several members of his family, took in the Civil War, the reader may consult *Memorials of the Civil War in Herefordshire*, by the Reverends John and T. W. Webb.

His son having pre-deceased him, he was succeeded by his grandson, John, second Viscount, who married the only daughter of John Cecil, Earl of Exeter, by whom he had one son, James, third Viscount, who, by Frances, only daughter of Simon, Lord Digby, had an only child, Frances Scudamore, who married (firstly) Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, and (secondly) Charles Fitzroy, who took the name of "Scudamore," and also, by her, had an only daughter, Frances Scudamore, who married Charles Howard, eleventh Duke of Norfolk, and died in 1820, without issue. A special Act of Parliament was passed to enable the Duke of Beaufort, who married the Hon. Frances Scudamore, to take the additional name and arms of Scudamore.

With the death of Frances Scudamore, Duchess of Norfolk, the Holme Lacy line terminated, after lasting some five hundred years; and there ensued considerable litigation as to the rightful heir. Some idea of the magnitude of the claim may be gathered from the fact that two wagon loads of papers went up to London from Holme Lacy, and the schedule of legal instruments—deeds, transcripts, charters, etc.—numbered upwards of 8,969 "instruments." By an order of the Lord Chancellor, all the tombs in Holme Lacy Church were opened in order to examine the coffin-plates, and a pedigree of the Scudamores, going back beyond Tudor times, at Holme Lacy, was ordered by the Court of Chancery. The ultimate issue was that Holme Lacy went to the Scudamore-Stanhopes, later Earls of Chesterfield (the present owners), as descending from Mary, the eldest sister of John, first Viscount Scudamore, who married Sir Giles Brydges, of Wilton Castle; and other portions of the estate to the Higfords and Frekes, as descending from Frances, the youngest sister of John, first Viscount Scudamore.

Holme Lacy, a Palladian mansion, is imposing from its size, being the largest in the Shire. It is, moreover,

situate in the midst of lovely scenery, through which wanders the silver Wye, and is now the residence of the Earl of Chesterfield, wearer of an historic title, and representative of the illustrious Scudamores in the female line.[1]

The Scudamore arms, which quarter the noblest and most ancient families in the kingdom, are as follow: —

Quarterly first and fourth, gules three stirrups leathered and buckled or, for Scudamore (modern). Second and third, or a cross patée fitchée in the foot gules. Scudamore (ancient) supporters a horse bridled and saddled or, with a plume of four feathers and a bear ducally gorged or. Crest: a bear's paw issuing from a ducal coronet, with a Viscount's coronet for Holme Lacy branch. Motto: Scuto Amoris Divini ("By the Shield of Love Divine").

ED. F. DOWNMAN-COURTENAY SCUDAMORE.

---

[1] There are but few other branches of the Scudamore family in existence, the most important being that of Kent or Canterbury, which, in a remarkably short period, has produced some very eminent men, notably Ed. Scudamore (physician), Chamberlain of Canterbury 1773-1774, his grandson, Sir Charles Scudamore, the eminent physician, whose five distinguished nephews were: the late Frank Ives Scudamore, C.B., of the General Post Office, described as "one of the ablest and most gifted men of his time"; his brother, Thomas Edward Scudamore, managing director of the Rhymney Iron Co., South Wales, "a man of great ability, culture, and nobleness of character"; General Arthur Scudamore, C.B., "a distinguished soldier"; Frederick Scudamore, county solicitor (Kent), "a pattern to his profession"; and the Rev. William E. Scudamore, "probably the greatest theologian of the nineteenth century," and whose monumental work, "Notitia Eucharistica," is a most learned classic of the Church of England. A son of the late Frank Ives Scudamore is Francis Scudamore, the eminent *Times* war correspondent, who has been present at nearly thirty engagements in the Russo-Turkish and Soudan campaigns, and has performed several heroic acts in the saving of life.

The late Mr. Fortunatis Augustin Scudamore, the successful dramatist, belonged to a branch of the Holme Lacy line. He was a man of great ability, and in addition to being the author of upwards of twenty-two dramas, all more or less successful, was himself a fine actor.

THE LOLLARDS AND ALMELEY.

By the Rev. R. Hyett Warner, M.A.

AT the distance of little more than a mile from the Buck Inn, on the old coach road from Wales to London, lies the village of Almeley. In ancient times it was connected by a packroad, long disused, with the main road on the east, and on the west with another road between Hereford and Brecon. A few miles to the south, across the Wye, lay the far-famed Golden Valley, with its fine Cistercian Abbey of Dore; a few miles to the east, the Priory of Wormesley, to which the Church in the fourteenth century was appropriated; far to the west the Brecon beacon lifted its solemn peaks to the sky, as when Caractacus vainly contended against the eagles of Rome. A little more than ten miles to the north, as the crow flies, ranged Deerfold Forest, in the domain of the Mortimers of Wygmore, in whose solitudes many a hunted Lollard found a refuge.

The natural beauty of Almeley impresses most minds, and is said to have stirred the poetic soul of William Wordsworth in his Herefordshire wanderings. From the rising ground above the village it is indeed a striking panorama which is spread before the eyes. Hill above hill, range behind range, meet the eye all around, with ever-changing tints of trees and grass and bracken as the sun plays upon hillside and woodland, and upon white-faced cattle grazing peacefully in the meadows.

The situation may well have attracted a Saxon "tun" or settlement to Almeley or Aylmer's Lea, as some explain

the etymology; but the chronicles make no mention of any village here prior to the Doomsday Survey, in which record it is returned as one of the manors belonging to the Church of St. Guthlac in Hereford.

It may not be out of place to glance at the feudal lords who held Almeley in succession, and were the predecessors of Sir John Oldcastle, the champion and martyr of the Lollards.

The first we know of was Roger de Lacy, who, as military tenant, held Almeley under the Priors of St. Guthlac's. He was the son of Walter de Lacy, who followed the banner of William to Hastings, and received as his share of the spoils of war numerous manors on the Welsh border on condition of protecting the English from the incursions of the Welsh. Walter de Lacy was in his day regarded as a great benefactor to the Church. Besides contributing largely to the Abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester, he built St. Peter's, Hereford, at his own expense. It was while inspecting the walls of this church that he fell from a ladder, and was fatally injured. His son Roger having forfeited the estates through espousing the cause of Robert Courthose, and his other sons dying without issue, the manor of Almeley passed to Walter's daughter, Emma, and by the marriage of Margaret, one of her descendants, to Sir John de Verdon, the De Verdons became the next owners of the manor and estate. They were men of knightly fame, and took a prominent part in many of the stirring events of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Bertram de Verdon, an ancestor of John, fought by the side of the Lion Heart in Palestine, and on August 21st, 1191, was left by him at Acre in charge of his young bride, Berengaria, with Joan, the Queen of Naples, and the daughter of Isaac, the so-called Emperor of Cyprus, while he himself proceeded to Jerusalem. He also became one of King Richard's sureties in his treaty with Tancred, King of Sicily, and witnessed a charter at Messina on January 23rd,

1191, dying at Joppa in 1192. His grand-daughter, Rohesia, married Theobald Butler, one of the Norman barons settled in Ireland, but retained her family name and coat-of-arms. It was her son, John de Verdon, who, as already stated, married Margaret de Lacy, and so became owner of Almeley, in the Honour of Weobley, and Marcher lordship of Ewyas Lacy. He took the King's side in the wars with the Barons; and joining Prince Edward in the Crusades, died October 21st, 1274 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

His son, Theobald, succeeded to the property, in which Almeley was included. He, too, led an active public life. He served in the wars in Gascony, and at the Lincoln Parliament of 1301 signed as "Lord of Weobley" the letter to the Pope refusing to acknowledge the right of the Papacy to interfere with the prerogatives of the English Crown.

Theobald de Verdon left no sons, and the Almeley portion of his estates descended to his daughter, Elizabeth, by his first wife, Matilda, daughter of Edmund Mortimer and sister of the "gentle Mortimer" of Edward II.'s reign. This daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, also of a distinguished knightly family of the time, whose name is still borne by the Earls of Westmoreland. Lord Burghersh took a prominent part in the public transactions of his day. At the surrender of Leeds Castle in Kent to Edward II., in October, 1321, he was taken prisoner, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

When Edward II. had been deposed, Lord Burghersh received many tokens of confidence from the new Government, being appointed Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Warden of the Tower. As Chamberlain of the King, he was entrusted with the exceedingly unpleasant task of pawning the Crown jewels. He took part in the battle of Creçy, and was employed on missions to the Pope at Avignon, to Philip of Valois, and to the Counts of Brabant and Flanders. He died

in 1355, and was succeeded by his son of the same name. This Lord Burghersh was one of the original Knights of the Garter. He went on a pilgrimage to Palestine in fulfilment of a vow, and in 1364 was one of the nobles appointed to receive King John of France at Dover, and to conduct him to the King's palace at Eltham. Two years later he was sent on a mission to Pope Urban V., and died in 1369. His only daughter, Elizabeth, married Edward, Lord Despenser, second son of Hugh, Lord Despenser, who was executed at Hereford in 1326 with revolting barbarity. Edward, in virtue of his marriage, became the next Lord of the Manor of Almeley. He fought as his father-in-law did at Poictiers, and was one of the noblemen appointed to attend the Duke of Clarence to Milan on his marriage with the Duke of Milan's daughter, of which more hereafter. Lord Despenser was for some time in the service of Pope Urban V., and died in 1375. Whether the manor of Almeley passed to the possession of the next owners by purchase, or marriage, or otherwise, does not appear; but the Despensers probably did not retain it for any length of time.

As we read of these grand feudal lords and their doings, we cannot suppose that any personal acquaintance between them and their distant tenantry could have been possible. Far away on the sacred soil of Palestine, fighting against Saladin, or on the battlefields of France, in the gay courts and tournaments of Europe, amid minstrels and troubadours, they would have but few thoughts to bestow upon the villeins and bordarers who were "beating out their little lives" in the cultivation of their lords' estates. To the wise legislation of Edward I., especially to the statute of *Quia Emptores*, we owe a class of freeholders who, occupying a less prominent social position, and with less ambitious aims, could devote themselves to the cultivation and improvement of the soil. It had been proved conclusively from the Barons' war that the great baronial fiefs were a constant menace to the legitimate authority

and security of the Crown, and the statute referred to, by allowing the sub-tenants to sell or bequeath their rights, effectually curbed the baronial power. But although the feudal manor of Almeley would see but little of its distant lords, it was far more in the stream of national history than the modern parish. For it was the site of a royal castle—one of the chain of fortified places on the Welsh border rendered necessary by the incessant warfare of the times. Some remains of this castle were said to be still standing in the seventeenth century, and antiquarians can trace its rectangular defences adjacent to the mound, near the church, supposed to be the site of its ancient "keep." In the time of King John it was in the military occupation of Walter de Beauchamp, one of the Lords Marchers, and was held for him by the Constable, William de Cantilupe, of the same family as the bishop of saintly memory.

Walter de Beauchamp and other barons, driven to a fatal policy by the atrocious misgovernment of the King, invited Lewis, son of the King of France, to accept the crown and realm of England. The young Prince, in pursuance of this invitation, landed in England, and at first met with some success in his enterprise. But his arrogant proceedings gradually alienated the Barons, and Walter de Beauchamp, among others, took steps to return to his allegiance to his lawful sovereign. Accordingly, the King issued his mandate, dated at Whitchurch, August 16th, 1216, to the Constable, William de Cantilupe, to give up possession of Almeley Castle to "his beloved and faithful Walter Lacy, Hugh Mortimer, Walter Clifford, and John Monmouth, until Tuesday next after the Feast of St. Laurence," to enable De Beauchamp to proceed to Gualo, the papal legate, who had succeeded Pandulph, and to obtain his absolution from the interdict imposed on the followers of Lewis, and then to come to the King and make his peace. At the same time, the King's safe-conduct was granted to De Beauchamp, who appears to have been pardoned, as later orders were issued

to restore the castle of Almeley to his keeping *(Patent Rolls*; Rymer's *Fœdera)*.

A few years later, in the reign of his son, Henry III., Almeley must have presented a gay appearance when the young King, who in those days travelled with his Court, arrived at the castle on the 22nd September, 1231. He had been at the newly-built Pains Castle on the 20th, and was at Hereford on the 25th, so that his route can be fairly traced. The proud banner of the house of Anjou floated in the breeze upon the battlements as the royal party, attended by a brilliant retinue of knights and squires and men-at-arms, was seen approaching in long cavalcade by the ancient packroad leading from the west. Various documents were signed and dated by the King on this occasion, of private rather than of public interest, such as the grants of deer from the royal forest of Savernake. But for us the chief interest of the royal visit to Almeley lies in the coming of the young Simon de Montfort, who had been commanded to attend the King at this place, in order to do homage for his father's lands as tenant of the King *in capite (Close Rolls*, 1231*)*. Of all the people who, through these centuries, have found their way to this remote village, few can compare in national interest with the man who contributed so much to the making of England, and to the founding of that assembly which has been to the world "the mother of Parliaments."

The succession of the lords of the manor of Almeley has been traced down to the time of the Despenser family; but the first people who appear to have taken any real or personal interest in the place were the Pychard or Picard family. They took their name from Picardy, where they were originally settled. The founder of the English branch, Miles Picard, is inscribed on the Roll of Battle Abbey, and fought by the side of Bernard de Newmarch against the last native Prince of Brecon. In the Scutage returns for 1242, which give an account of the knights'

fees, as they were called, liable to military service, Roger Picard is mentioned as holding in Almeley "four hides for the fee of one knight of old feoffment of the heirship of Walter de Laci of the Honour of Weobley." From this it would seem that the De Lacys were still the superior lords, but the Picards were practically the freeholders, making, probably, some slight feudal acknowledgment as holders of the knight's fee to the lord of the manor.

They must, at all events, have had a substantial interest in the parish, for in the episcopal register for 1289 the Picards are mentioned as possessed of the advowson of the living. It was during the time this family held the manor and advowson that Bishop Swinfield paid an episcopal visit to Almeley on Trinity Sunday, May 22nd, 1289. The bishop had spent the preceding Saturday at Hergest Court, but we do not read in the records of his journey that his slumbers were disturbed by the mysterious hound which tradition associates with the home of the Vaughans. As the bishop travelled with forty retainers, including his champion, John Brugge, his visit must have been somewhat formidable, the more so as "procurations" for his expenses were demanded and received from the Rector, Master Roger Webbelye (Swinfield's *Register*).

How long the Picards held the manor and living of Almeley it is not easy to trace. In the year 1316 a Joan Picard, widow of Roger Picard, was certified by writ as holding the "township of Almeley." Peter, the son of this Joan, was concerned in various lawsuits, and was involved in the political disturbances of the time. He was accused of "riding and going to Gloucester" as an adherent of Roger Mortimer, who had supported the Earl of Lancaster in his ill-fated attempt to expel the Despensers from the favour and councils of the King. For his connection with the rebellion,[1] Peter Picard fortunately

[1] *Memoirs of Picard family.*

escaped with a fine of five marks, but it may be conjectured that the part which he took in these stormy times may have lowered the fortunes and status of the family. The name, indeed, occurs in legal proceedings of a subsequent date, but by the year 1381 the manor and patronage of the church had passed into other hands.

It was on October 10th, 1381, that a distinguished company assembled at the church for the purpose of "appropriating" the Rectory to the Prior and Canons of the Augustinian Priory of Wormesley. The Latin deed conveying the advowson to the Priory is printed by Dugdale from a manuscript in the Harleian collection. As principals or as witnesses the document is signed by men distinguished in the civil and religious history of the times. The fingers which traced the quaint characters on that faded parchment have long crumbled into dust, but it may be not without interest to catch a glimpse of the writers themselves as they pass before us in the shadowy features of the past.

We will first present the deed, which in English reads as follows:—

To all the faithful of Christ to whom this present writing shall come John Bromwych, John de Eynsford Knights, Philip Holgot eternal greeting in the Lord. Whereas we deem it worthy and meritorious to promote the worship of God, and as we are in duty bound to assist with our entire devotion those who devoutly serve God with our kind favour and the fulness of a more ample benefit, hence it is that we make known to you all by these presents that we have given and granted to the Prior and Convent of the Priory of **Wormsleye** one acre of land in **Almeley** together with the advowson and all rights of patronage of the aforesaid Church to the Prior and Convent and their successors for ever; from the chief demesnes of that fief by services due therefrom. In testimony whereof our seals are appended to this our Deed. These being witnesses—Nicholas de Audeley, Richard de la Beere, John Burley, Kynard de la Beere, Robert Whyteney, Knights, and others.

Dated at Almeley 10 October 4 Richard ii.

An old chantry and a Norman tower appear to have been in existence long before this date, but the main body

of the church thus "appropriated" was almost fresh from the mason's chisel, and formed the fine specimen of a fourteenth century church which has continued to the present time. The Priory to which the church was thus "appropriated" was founded by Gilbert Talbot, of the well-known historic name, and included among its benefactors members of the Devereux, Mortimer, and Mapes families, to the last-mentioned of which belonged the celebrated satirist of the clergy, Walter Mapes, the contemporary of Becket. In virtue of this "appropriation," the bishop of the diocese required the Priors to appoint Perpetual Vicars to Almeley, which they did until the Priory was swept away at the dissolution.

On July 12th, 1380, the Prior and Convent of Wormesley paid to the King twenty marks for the alienation in mortmain to them by the three persons before-mentioned of "one acre of land in Almeley and the advowson of its church not held in chief."

From a later document it appears that the persons above mentioned in conjunction with others granted their interest in the manor of Almeley and in other places to Sir John Oldcastle and the heirs of his body. Thus the Rectory ceased to be a benefice "appendant" to the manor, and the land and vicarage have ever since been in different hands.

Sir John Bromwych, the first of the above-mentioned donors, belonged to the Hereford branch of the Warwickshire family, whose name still survives in Castle Bromwich of that county. The family were connected by marriage with many noble houses of the time and with that of Sir John Oldcastle. According to the Visitation of 1589, Sir Thomas Bromwich married Catherine, a sister of Lord Cobham, but from that of 1619 it would appear that Catherine Oldcastle was aunt to Sir John. This marriage may possibly throw some light on the grant by Sir John Bromwich of his lands in Almeley to Sir John Oldcastle, and points to a probable

community of religious sentiment between the two families.

Sir John Bromwich must have been a man of some weight and character, for we find that two years before the deed above recited was signed he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, and was escorted across the Channel from Liverpool in great state, with sixty men-at-arms and a hundred and twenty bowmen and horsemen in his retinue. For some reason not explained he did not enjoy the dignity very long, but a few months later was commanded to resign what, in this unsettled time, must have been a troublesome post to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. On his return, Sir John probably settled down in Herefordshire, as his name occurs in the taxation and other records, and the deed already recited shews him to have been interested in Almeley and its church. Sir John Eynsford, of Tillington, was a well-known Herefordshire man in his day, and was elected ten times to represent the county in Parliament. He married Christian, daughter of Sir Gerard Furnival, and through subsequent marriages the family was allied with those of Milbourne, Baskerville, and Whitney. Sir John Eynsford was buried in the church of the Black Friars, Hereford.

Philip Holgot, the other donor of the advowson, was a well-known lawyer of the county, and, as already stated, joined in the conveyance of land to Sir John Oldcastle. The witnesses to the Deed nearly all belonged to families of historic interest. The first of them, Nicholas, Lord Audley, was the son of James, Lord Audley, who fought at Poictiers, and being badly wounded was carried by his four esquires to the tent of the Black Prince, and pronounced by him to have been the bravest of the brave. The Prince at once conferred upon the wounded man a handsome pension, which he divided between the four esquires. Nicholas was lord of Monnington and Dilwyn, and in 1372, with his wife, Elizabeth, granted license to Sir Gilbert Talbot

and others to give certain lands in Little Dilwyn and Church Dilwyn, then belonging to John de Mynors, to the Priory of Wormesley, to which two years later Almeley was appropriated. One of the family was Edmund Audley, Bishop of Hereford (1492-1502), afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. In Much Marcle Church is a tomb with two recumbent figures, said to be those of Hugh, Lord Audley, and Isolda, his wife. (Duncombe's *Herefordshire.*)

The marriage of Constance, daughter of a Lord Audley and grand-daughter of the Earl of Kent, to Robert Whitney, introduces another family on the scene, one of whom was among our witnesses. This was Sir Robert Whitney, whose family derived their name from the village near Hay. He is interesting in connection with our subject from the fact that the Whitneys were supporters of the Wycliffe doctrines. He married Joan, daughter of Thomas Oldcastle, of Birtsmorton, a place intimately associated with the adventures of Sir John Oldcastle. His sister, Lady Peryn Clanbowe, left in her will "a boke of Englyssh cleped," "a pore caytife"—a work of strongly-pronounced Lollard opinions (Robinson, *Castles of Herefordshire*). Sir Robert Whitney's experiences, were, however, of European rather than of local or religious interest. It has been mentioned that Edward, Lord Despenser, accompanied the Duke of Clarence in 1368 to Milan, when he was about to marry Violanta, daughter of the Grand Duke. Among the knights and gentlemen who composed the Duke's retinue on the occasion was Sir Robert Whitney. The nuptial festivities are described as having been oriental in their profusion and magnificence. Among the guests in that festal hall we discern, across the centuries, our two Herefordshire knights, and among the company, tradition says, was Petrarch, the immortal lover of Laura, the friend of Boccaccio and of Cola di Rienzi, last of Tribunes.

But Sir Robert Whitney was to meet his end far away from these gay pageants and this illustrious company.

With many others he had abandoned the cause of the unhappy Richard, and cast in his lot with the usurper Henry IV. It was on the blood-stained hill of Pilleth that, with more than a thousand Herefordshire men, he fell beneath the victorious arms of Owen Glendower, when, as Shakespeare writes:—

> All athwart there came
> A post from Wales laden with heavy news;
> Whose worst was that the noble Mortimer,
> Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight
> Against the irregular and wild Glendower,
> Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken,
> And a thousand of his people butchered.

Among the knights and courtiers who crossed the historic stage in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. was Sir John Burley, one of our witnesses, and his brother, Sir Simon Burley. They took their name from Birley or Burley, a hamlet of King's Pyon. The two brothers were among the original Knights of the Garter. Sir John Burley is mentioned as the friend of Chaucer the poet, and as having been associated with him in a foreign mission on behalf of the Crown, the nature of which is not known, except that he received forty marks for his services and the poet twenty.

We learn from the Patent Rolls, under date November 4th, 1385, that the King granted to Sir John Burley the custody during the war with France of the alien priory of Wotton Waweyn, "without rendering ought therefore provided that its value does not exceed £46 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly the rent he was wont to pay for it at the Exchequer."

The alien priories in this country depended upon foreign monasteries, and were suppressed by Henry V.; but this one at Wotton Waweyn must have been taken into the hands of the King for some reason before the dissolution of these priories generally.

Sir John Burley was buried in the church of the Black Friars, Hereford, and his will is still preserved in the

archives of the Cathedral. His brother, Sir Simon Burley, had a far more eventful and tragic career. He had many personal and social gifts, and was honourably selected to escort Anne of Bohemia when she came to England to be married to our young King, Richard II. This admirable princess would thus become acquainted with the Burleys, and as she was an ardent supporter of the doctrines of Huss in her own country, we may well imagine that opportunities of becoming acquainted with the religious leaders in England would not be wanting.

Although Sir Simon Burley had won the friendship of the young Queen, this did not shield him from the ill-will of the Duke of Gloucester, who virtually governed the kingdom. He was "appealed" before the "Wonderful Parliament" of malversation and other acts of treason, and condemned to death. Stow, the historian, accuses Sir Simon of being the cause of Wat Tyler's insurrection. This is extremely unlikely. Sir Simon, on the contrary, is recorded to have caused one of his escaped serfs to be seized at Gravesend, where he was getting an honest living, and to be imprisoned in Rochester Castle, from which he was rescued by the Kentish insurgents. Whatever his offences had been, Sir Simon met with no mercy. The young Queen is said to have entreated for the life of her friend on her bended knees, and with unavailing tears. His enemies knew no pity; and Sir Simon Burley, the gallant knight, the scholar, the courtier, the friend of the accomplished Froissart, was marched through the streets of London with his hands tied behind his back, to the scaffold on Tower Hill, and there beheaded on May 15th, 1388.

A word respecting two other witnesses. Richard de la Beere and Kynardus de la Beere belonged to the neighbouring castle of Kinnersley, where the family had long been settled. They were connected by marriage with the families of Talbot, Devereux, Harley, Baskerville, and other distinguished houses. A member of this family is

joined with others in a Commission issued by the Bishop of Hereford against "William Swynderby pretending to be a priest," in other words he was a Lollard.

A Sir Richard de la Bere was present at the battle of Creçy, and is said to have rescued the Black Prince from imminent danger. Another Sir Richard was Sheriff of the County in the reign of Edward IV., and to his keeping was committed the son of the Duke of Buckingham. After the Duke's execution a price was set on the head of his little son, whom Dame de la Beere concealed, dressed in maiden's clothing, in the woods about Newchurch, between Almeley and Kinnersley, until the pursuit was over (Robinson, *Castles of Herefordshire*).

The personages who thus met at Almeley more than five centuries ago in their degree reflect the character of the times, and show how an otherwise obscure village on the Welsh Marches might throb with the great life of the nation and its history. But an historical personage far more intimately connected with Almeley than any of the foregoing was Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard champion and martyr. The family belonged originally to Wales, where Sir John was known as Sion Hendy o Went Iscoed, that is, John Oldhouse, of Gwent below the Forest—a fact probably not without its influence on his impulsive character and stormy career. His birth took place about the year 1360, as some believe, at Almeley, but certainly on the Welsh border. From an Inquisition held at Hereford in July, 1429, on the petition of his son, Henry Oldcastle, to recover his father's lands, it appears that Sir John Bromwych, Sir John Eynesford, and Philip Holgot, who, as we have seen, conveyed the advowson of the church to Wormesley Priory, had joined with other persons in granting their interest in the manor of Almeley "to Sir John Oldcastle kt. and the heirs of his body." Fields and meadows mentioned in the report of this Inquisition still retain the same names and appear in parish maps and other existing documents. This sufficiently establishes the

claim of Almeley to have been one of the estates of Sir John Oldcastle; nor is there anything to prevent us from believing that he may have joined in the worship of its newly-built church.

The Oldcastles, like many other families in the Welsh Marches, were prominent in the political life of the time. Sir John's grandfather of the same name represented the county in Parliament in the latter part of the reign of Edward III.; his uncle, Thomas Oldcastle, was Member in 16 Richard II.; and he himself was elected as Knight of the Shire in 5 Henry IV. He early shewed natural ability as a soldier, and was appointed to important military commands in Burgundy, at Builth and Aberystwith in Wales, and Scotland, in the course of which he won the friendship of a gallant soldier, Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V. He is also said to have been one of the three knights who maintained the honour of England against the lilies of France in the lists at Lille. (Wylie, *Henry IV.*)

But Sir John Oldcastle was not only a brave soldier, which even the monkish chroniclers do not deny, but for those times, also, an enlightened statesman. He saw, as most European countries have seen, that the interference of the Pope in temporal affairs was not for the good of any nation, and in this belief petitioned Parliament that the Pope's authority should not extend beyond the harbour of Calais. He laboured to promote the circulation of Wycliffe's translation of the Bible in this country, and at the suggestion of John Huss caused numerous copies of his works to be transcribed and distributed throughout Bohemia, the native land of the young queen of Richard II., as also in France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries. It was to Wenceslaus,[1] King of Bohemia, and brother of Queen Anne, that he addressed a Latin letter breathing the true spirit of a Christian and of a brave knight. It is dated from London, September 7th, possibly in 1413.

[1] For much interesting information respecting this King, see Foxe, Vol. III.

"It proves," says Dr. Wylie, who gives the Latin text, "that letters had passed between him and Huss, whom he calls 'a priest of Christ'" (Wylie, *Hen. IV.*, Vol. III., p. 298). He was, moreover, a keen controversialist, and in 1395 wrote a book addressed to Parliament respecting the conduct of the clergy, beginning *Prima conclusio quando ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* It is obviously impossible to treat in detail either his life or his religious opinions. But one or two points cannot be passed over in silence. The attempt is sometimes made to snatch from his brow the martyr's crown by accusing him of treason. If some rebellious thoughts should have arisen in the minds of patriots of that day as they looked on the—

> Rose of Lancaster
> Red in its birth, redder with household wars,
> Now reddest with the blood of holy men,

history also points to the infamous Statute *De heretico comburendo* as some palliation for the loosening of the ties of allegiance. But there is no evidence that Oldcastle himself ever contemplated the overthrow of the Lancastrian dynasty. All evidence lies the other way. The King tried hard to persuade his old friend and comrade-in-arms to return to his obedience to the Church, and when the smiles of a prince failed to win him from his allegiance to what he believed to be the truth, it was not as a traitor, but as a heretic, that he was left to his fate.

In the play entitled *The True History of Sir John Oldcastle*, bound up in some editions of Shakespeare, the King is made to thank Lord Cobham for frustrating the conspiracy of Cambridge, Scroope, and others against his life:—

> God have the praise for our deliverance!
> And next our thanks Lord Cobham is to thee,
> Thou perfect mirror of nobility.

Again, when arrested in the Welsh mountains, Cobham addresses his faithful wife:—

One solace find I settled in my soul,
That I am free from treason's very thought,
Only my conscience for the Gospel's sake
Is cause of all the troubles I sustain.

But Lord Cobham laboured under the disadvantage which has beset the career of other religious leaders. Their theological opinions having been carried by indiscreet followers into the sphere of politics, have assumed at times the appearance of a menace to the existing order. His escape from the Tower, it is said with the King's connivance, was the occasion of a Lollard rising in London, and the clerical enemies of Lord Cobham did not fail to accuse him of complicity in the movement. From that time he was proclaimed as a traitor and outlaw, and a great price set upon his head. Little wonder that the iron entered into his soul when he heard of thirty-nine of his poor followers, with whom he had read and prayed, being taken and hanged as traitors or burnt as heretics, when the worst of men could find shelter in the "sanctuary" for their crimes; when he himself was hunted from shire to shire, now hiding in the secret chamber of Birtsmorton, at another time lost in the solitude of Deerfold Forest, and at last wandering in the mountains, where he hoped to glean—

Some scatter'd ears,
Some ears for Christ in this wild field of Wales.

In these days of religious liberty we need not discuss the views of the Lollards in general, or those of Lord Cobham in particular. He stated them fully from a "schedule" he read before Archbishop Arundel. It was in the monastery of the Black Friars that Lord Cobham appeared before the Primate and his clergy. The whole dismal "processus" is given at length in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (pp. 433-450) and in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. The conclusion was a foregone one. The lamb had as much chance with

the wolf as a Lollard with Arundel. The successor of the Apostles stood up and read his sentence, the other clergy uncovering their heads the while. The Archbishop described the man who stood before him as "not only an evydent heretyque in his own Persone but also a myghtye mayntener of other Heretyques agaynst the Faythe and Relygyon of the holye and unyversall Churche of Rome"; and then he hands him over to the secular power: "We sentencyalle and diffynytyvelye by this present Wrytynge judge, declare and condemne the seyd Sir Johan Oldcastell Knyght and Lorde Cobham for a most pernycyouse and detestable Heretyque, convicted upon the same and refusynge utterlye to obeye the Churche agayne, commyttynge him here from henceforth as a condemned Heretyque to the secular Jurisdictyon Power and Judgement to do him thereupon to death."

After this, we are told, "he fell downe upon his knees and thus before them all prayed for his Enemyes, holdynge up both his Handes and his Eyes towards Heaven and sayenge, 'Lord God eternall, I besyche the for thy great mercyes sake to forgeve my Persuers yf it be thy blyssed Will.' And then he was delyvered to Syr Robert Morleye and so ledde forthe to the Tower of London." (Bale's *Life.*)

Four years passed away, during which, as already stated, Sir John Oldcastle had gone through many adventures, when he finally fell into the hands of his enemies. It was on Christmas Day, 1417, they brought him out to die, when in the great Abbey of Westminster and the Church of St. Paul's, and at St. Osyth's, whose rector had been burned nearly seventeen years before, and at other churches, the people had met together to hear of the Nativity of the Saviour and of the angels' song of "Peace on earth and goodwill towards men."

For humanity's sake we draw a veil over the closing scene. England has long ago repented of these ruthless deeds, whether perpetrated by Catholics or by Protestants,

Churchmen or Puritans. History can only point with sorrow to the blood-stained page; science recognises in these cruelties a stage in the evolution of the race; and posterity can but honour the memory of the martyrs.

Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling faggots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn.

It should be mentioned that Walden the Carmelite, and bitter enemy of the Lollards, gives a long abjuration of his errors by Sir John Oldcastle in his *Fasciculi Zizaniorum;* but as this is in absolute contradiction to the whole tenour of the man's life and death, we may safely concur in the opinion of his biographer Bale, that the document is a forgery.

Sir John Oldcastle, though he bequeathed but few writings to posterity, occupies a place in English literature. A play called *The True History of Sir John Oldcastle*, already quoted, was printed in the year 1600, the editor of which remarks that any poet of the time except Shakespeare might be proud of it. It is unnecessary to discuss in this place the relation between the original Sir John Oldcastle of Shakespeare's *Henry IV.* and the same personage re-christened in the later editions as Sir John Falstaff. The great poet knew his art better than to place on the stage the hero and martyr in the garb of the buffoon; but to avoid mistakes he makes the speaker of the epilogue declare: "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." Sir John is frequently mentioned in the political poetry of the time. Occleve, the pupil of Chaucer, addresses him in some lines commencing:—

Beware Oldcastel, and for Christes sake
Clymbe no more in holie writ so hie;
Rede the storie of Lancelot de Lake
Or Vegere of the art of chivalrie.

Thus poet and prelate and king alike failed to understand the man who passed away in the flames,

misinterpreted like Huss, and Jerome, and Savanarola, and others of the white-robed army, of whom the world was not worthy.

> When earth last saw them they were bleeding,
> Thorn-crowned and sore perplexed;
> They shall be changed and beautiful exceeding
> When we shall see them next.

We know but little of Sir John's descendants. His son, Henry, recovered the family property in Almeley, but seems to have shared the obloquy which cleaved to his father's name. Sir John's daughter, Catharine, married Richard Clitherow, who was Sheriff of the County of Kent in 1403, and was appointed by the merchants of London "Admiral of the Seas from the Thames eastward."[1]

Another historical personage connected with the Oldcastles, altogether unworthy of the name she bore, was Eleanor Cobham, of Birtsmorton, afterwards Duchess of Gloucester. Readers of Shakespeare will remember the sorcery scene in *Henry VI.* in which she is represented with her accomplices as practising enchantments upon the King's life at the moment of their arrest. For this imaginary crime several persons were executed, while the Duchess herself was imprisoned for life in the Isle of Man.

But we must hasten to speak of one or two other Lollards of note more or less connected with Almeley. Reference has been made to the Whitney family, over whose vanished castle the waters of the Wye are said to flow, and whose descendants are honourably known in far-distant Pennsylvania. They were among the "fautors" of the Wycliffites, and befriended the Lollard William Swinderby, one of the adherents of Sir John Oldcastle. He had made himself obnoxious in Leicester by his denunciations of feminine attire. He subsequently came

[1] There are still living, descendants of this marriage, and, therefore, of Oldcastle the martyr.

into the diocese of Hereford, and being an able and learned man, became an active leader of the Lollards in that county. The "parsons" of Almeley and Whitney, in whose churches he is said to have preached, were included with other persons in the citation already mentioned, directing them to cause Swinderby to appear before them with a view to further proceedings. Foxe gives a long account of Swinderby, and of the opposition he met with in the diocese of Hereford, but is unable to trace his ultimate fate.

Closely connected by marriage with the Oldcastle family of Almeley was Walter Brute or Birt, an intimate friend of this William Swinderby. He was of sufficient importance for Richard II. to address a Commission to a number of Herefordshire justices, including Sir Thomas Oldcastle, requiring them to assist the Bishop of Hereford against Walter Brute, and to commit him to prison till they should have other commandments from the King and his council for his deliverance. The Bishop of Hereford and the King had been stimulated in their pious zeal against the Lollards by bulls received from Pope Boniface IX., in which his Holiness speaks of the Lollards as "those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadows or ghosts of men who rise up against the sound faith and the holy universal church!"

Foxe devotes many pages to the story of Walter Brute, and prints the scroll publicly recited by him in which he submits himself to the determination of the four doctors, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory, and to the correction of his bishop. What became of him eventually does not appear, but his home at Birtsmorton is interesting in connection with the subject of this paper as the scene of the "secret chamber" in which Sir John Oldcastle hid himself, and of the moat which tradition says he swam when escaping from his foes.

One eccentric Almeley Lollard must not be passed over. In the year 1433, John Wodhull was seized by

the bishop for holding the moderate number of fifteen wrong opinions, and in accordance with the statute requiring bishops to maintain prisons in their sees for the reception of heretics, John Wodhull was put in durance vile. One of his deadly errors went far beyond Swynderby's denunciation of female dress, for he maintained that the worst thing any man ever did was better than the best thing any woman ever did! The Almeley women would probably have tamed this peculiar person more effectually than the discipline of the bishop's prison at Bosbury, but in any case he publicly recanted his errors, as recorded in the Bishop's Register.

With the accession of the Tudors, feudalism and seignorial rights and Lollardism alike passed away. Almeley Castle, the symbol, perhaps the occasion, of strife, ceased to be required, and crumbled away stone by stone.

A picturesque old timbered house, for generations owned by the Prichard family, reminds us of another form of worship in many respects resembling that of the Lollards, and tradition asserts that George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, preached on the green close to the home of the Prichards, who were early converts to his religious teaching, and perhaps descended from the Picard family already noticed.

As we look back upon those times of persecution, we can discern more clearly the influences and spirit at work in the minds of men. In spite of what was harsh and cruel, and almost unintelligible, we know that brave and good men were struggling after noble ideals, and

> Our fathers watered with their tears
> This sea of time whereon we sail.

Amid darkness and perplexity, pious souls in many a monastery, in many a manor-house, were offering their prayers to God for their Church and fatherland. To some few it was given to scan the distant horizon. Even in the darkest days there may have been here and there one

Like a poet hidden
In the light of thought,
Singing hymns unbidden,
Till the world was wrought
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not.

The Lollards may have boasted of but few poets or doctors, and doubtless were not free from serious errors, but the whole movement was the natural and inevitable revolt against an ecclesiastical system which was hiding the face of the Christ from mankind. All honour, then, to the brave men of Herefordshire, who, at the peril of their lives, threw open their castle gates, and drew their knightly swords in defence of those who proclaimed a purer doctrine and a nobler creed.

R. HYETT WARNER.

WEOBLEY AND THE TIMBER HOUSES OF THE SHIRE.

By George Marshall.

UAINTLY picturesque, old Weobley has long since failed to keep pace with the times, and but for a few modern alterations affords a very typical example of the smaller towns in Herefordshire as they existed two centuries ago. Formerly a Borough, though without a Corporation, it returned two Members to Parliament, and was a busy trading centre with a weekly market and three annual fairs. It also maintained two schools—one for boys and one for girls—at a time when learning was only within the reach of the well-to-do. But now lying as it does in a secluded situation, and three miles from the nearest railway station, it has become little more than a moderate-sized village: its schools closed, its market abolished, and its ancient industries dead.

In very early times Weobley was famous for its ale or *Curru*—not to be confused with beer, which beverage was brewed with "the pernicious weed called the hoppe." The Welsh were in the habit of importing large quantities of this ale into Wales, and it continued in favour until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when, owing to the increase of good cyder, the trade declined, and, as an old writer tells us, "Weobley hath lost the bell for Weobley's ancient ale." Another industry that died out about the same time as the brewing of ale was the winding of silk; and the manufacture of gloves, once extensively

Church Spire and Street, Weobley.

carried on here as in other parts of Herefordshire, became extinct in the early part of the last century.

The first mention to be found of this ancient borough town is in the Doomsday Survey, at which time it was held by the powerful Norman noble, Roger de Lacy; but before the Conquest it was in the possession of Edwin, son of Elfgar, the son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia. Tradition has it that the castle was founded by Roger or his brother, Hugh, but as it is situated about a mile on the English side of Offa's Dyke and close to the borders of Wales, it is not improbable that he may have merely enlarged a more ancient Saxon defence work erected to check the inroads of the marauding Welshmen. Whether this be so or not, there certainly was a strongly-fortified castle here in the reign of King Stephen. How long it continued to be occupied it is impossible to say; but as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, when Leland visited it, he termed it "a goodly castle, but somewhat in decay"; and by the Commonwealth period it must have been useless for defensive purposes, since it does not figure in the annals of those troublous times. A hundred years ago the site was used as the village bowling-green, and at the present day nothing of it remains but a grass-grown mound, surrounded by a deep and dried-up moat. The stones that formed its massive walls have long since been quarried for the erection of more humble structures: even the steening of the castle well is said to have been removed to face a house in the High Street.

But to return to the castle's palmy days and the part it has played in English history. In the year 1139, after Maud had landed in England with the intention of depriving King Stephen of his throne, Geoffrey Talbot seized both the castles of Hereford and Weobley, and held them on her behalf. In the following year, Stephen, who, though weak and prodigal, was not lacking in personal bravery, carried on a successful campaign in the West of England, recapturing Hereford, from whence

Talbot effected his escape, and shut himself up in Weobley Castle. The King immediately marched against this stronghold in person, quickly gained possession, dismantled and laid it waste, though Talbot again eluded his grasp. This is the first recorded occasion on which a Sovereign of the realm paid a visit to the town.

In the reign of King John, Weobley Castle was again garrisoned against the reigning monarch, this time by the rebellious Baron, William de Braose, then one of the most powerful of the Lord Marchers; nor can he be said to have acted without just cause. The King was more engrossed in the recovery of his dominions on the Continent than in redressing the grievances of his subjects at home, whom he had exasperated beyond control. After repeated demands on the part of the Barons, John, finding himself estranged from the nobles, proceeded to seize their castles and to demand their children as hostages, to ensure their loyalty. A peremptory summons was sent to Braose to deliver up his son as hostage for his good behaviour. The royal messengers, at their reception by Braose and his wife, Matilda, were given a reply as unpalatable as it must have been unexpected. A chronicler of the period relates how Matilda, taking the words out of her husband's mouth, said, "I will not deliver up my sons to your lord, King John, because he basely murdered his nephew, Arthur, whom he ought to have taken care of honourably." Her husband tried to smooth the matter over by offering to give satisfaction to the King, without hostages, if it were found on a proper trial that he had transgressed in anything. The bearers of this royal demand not being in sufficient strength were compelled to withdraw, and on reporting to King John what had occurred, he was so greatly enraged that he immediately despatched an armed force to seize the person of Braose. Fortunately for the noble Baron, he had warning of their coming, and shut himself up in Weobley Castle, which belonged to his son-in-law, Walter de

Lacy. From this point of vantage, assisted by Matthew de Gamage, Lord of Dilwyn, and a strong force of Welshmen, he sallied forth and sacked and burnt the neighbouring town of Leominster, including its noble minster. This occurred about the year 1208. Shortly after he was compelled to fall back into Wales, and eventually escaped to France, where he died in exile in the year 1212. His wife and children fell into the hands of the King in Ireland, and it is generally supposed that they were starved to death at Windsor in the year 1210, thus adding another crime to the long list that blackens the character of this detestable monarch.

On the death of Walter de Lacy in 1241, the castle of Weobley devolved on his grand-daughter, Margery, who married John de Verdon, and remained in this family until it became extinct in male line, when it passed to Margery de Verdon, wife of Sir John Crophull, who, in 1361, was styled Seigneur of the Castle of Weobley. Agnes, his grand-daughter, inherited it on his death, marrying Sir Walter Devereux, in whose family it remained till 1674, when it was bequeathed to Thomas Thynne, afterwards Viscount Weymouth, whose descendant, the Marquis of Bath, is its present possessor.

Having passed in review some of the Lords of the Castle in life, it will be well to glance round the place where others repose in death. The fine church, with its graceful steeple, is situated some distance from the castle mound, at the other end of the High Street. Unfortunately, in modern times the interior has suffered much at the hands of the restorer. Traces still remain of a church of the Norman period, but most of the present edifice was erected during the fourteenth century, including the very fine tower and spire. In 1640, a great gale of wind blew ten feet off the top of the spire, including one bar of iron which weighed over three hundred pounds. It remained in this condition until 1682, when Colonel Birch, the Parliamentarian General, who was then living peaceably

at Garnstone, which property he had recently purchased, undertook its restoration. He appears to have repaired the steeple and placed a capping stone and vane on the top, without carrying it up to its original height, thus giving it a truncated appearance. So it remained until a few years ago, when the spire having again become in a dilapidated and dangerous condition, was thoroughly restored and the missing portion replaced. The remarkably fine Gothic oak screens, with which the chancel and aisles were adorned, were ruthlessly removed during the so-called restoration of 1862, and only one carved oak pillar—with the emblem of the Trinity—from the north aisle, suffered to remain, to recall their ancient grandeur. The rest of the timber of the screen was cast into the churchyard, and the inhabitants carried it away for fuel! In the chancel are three fine recumbent effigies, two of which represent lords of the castle. The single figure on the north is, in all probability, that of Sir Walter Devereux, and the other two, John Marbury, wearing the Collar of SS., and his wife, Agnes. In a window in the north aisle are the remnants of what must once have been a very fine fifteenth century stained-glass window, the figures of several cherubims, with their wings composed of peacock's feathers, being especially worthy of note. Against the north wall of the chancel is an elaborate monument in marble to Colonel John Birch. The doughty Parliamentarian Colonel stands fully equipped in armour of the Cromwellian period, surrounded by the paraphernalia of war, while an inscription informs us that "none who knew him denyed him y^e^ character of asserting & vindicating y^e^ Laws & Liberties of his Country in War, and of promoting its Welfare and Prosperity in Peace"; also that he died on "May y^e^ 10^th^ 1691."

In the churchyard may be seen the steps and base of an ancient cross, at which, perhaps, William de Braose, the rebellious Baron, may have knelt, for it is related of him by a contemporary that "whenever he came into a

church or saw a cross, he immediately betook himself to prayer."

It has already been mentioned that Weobley was an ancient borough, and although never attaining the dignity of a mayor and corporation, for many years it returned two Members to Parliament. To the honour of the town, though in later times only a pocket borough, the burgesses selected many representatives who deserved well of their country, and whose names have been creditably written in the pages of the historian. As early as 1295 Weobley returned two Members, and possibly did so from the year 1213, but unfortunately the lists for the county before 1290 have been lost. For some unexplained reason, no Members were returned after 1306. Whether this was from a decline in the prosperity of the town or from some other cause cannot now be determined; but in 1628, James Tomkins, then Member for Leominster and Lord of the Manor of Weobley, procured a resolution of the House of Commons ordering a writ to be issued for the borough to return two burgesses, because "Weobley ought to send burgesses, and the long discontinuance was no loss of its right, for this was no franchise which may be lost, but a service *pro bono publico*." Accordingly, on May 13th, 1628, William Walter, son of Sir John Walter, Knt., Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with William, son of James Tomkins, were returned, and henceforward two Members continued to sit for this borough, until it shared the fate of similarly over-represented towns, brought about by the Reform Bill of 1832.

Among the well-known men who have represented this borough may be mentioned William Gregory, a native of Herefordshire, and Member in 1678-9. For a short time he was Speaker of the House of Commons, and only relinquished the post which he had filled with firmness and impartiality on being made a Baron of the Exchequer and knighted. Colonel John Birch, of Garnestone, the Parliamentarian General of whom some account has already

been given, sat for Weobley from 1679 to 1681 and from 1689 until his death two years later. The election brought about by his death caused some excitement in this peaceful town. The Colonel breathed his last on Sunday, May 10th, and on the Monday following an invitation was sent from the town to Thomas Foley, of Stoke Edith, who was then in London, to stand in his place. In the meantime, John Birch, a son of the Rev. Thomas Birch, of Hampton Bishop, and a nephew of the Colonel, set up an opposition, apparently because he was desirous of getting into Parliament to further his aims of keeping Colonel Birch's heirs-at-law from an estate that fell to them. Foley returned into Herefordshire on May 19th, and on hearing what had occurred immediately sought Birch to effect a compromise, but without avail. Birch, during Foley's absence, had secured a promise of most of the votes. Foley pointed out to the electors that if there was never any opposition, and if the Price and Birch families were always to be returned unopposed, no money would be spent in the town during the elections. This appeal to their pockets touched their hearts, and many who had promised to vote for Birch went in a body to his house and shouted, "Foley and Freedom." The candidates appear to have arranged the method of polling between themselves, and agreed that none were to be polled but those who paid to church and poor, scot and lot. The polling was of a very stormy nature. Finally, one constable declared that Mr. Birch was duly elected, the other constable that Mr. Foley was, and both candidates were then chaired round the town. Birch was, however, unseated in the following November, and Foley declared elected, having polled twenty-six to Birch's twenty-three. Another well-known man who represented Weobley in Parliament was Lord Eldon, the celebrated Lord Chancellor. He sat as a Member for this borough from 1783 to 1796, and during that period was a frequent visitor to the town.

In the High Street may still be seen a large red brick house, formerly the Bear Inn, dating from the early part of the eighteenth century, and erected possibly after a fire, which did considerable damage to the town at that time. Over the main entrance is a balcony with the door leading to it still *in situ*, from which the candidates were accustomed during an election to address the burgesses, who gathered together in the street below. This house, with several others in the town, was formerly the property of the Marquis of Bath, whose tenants only paid a nominal rent on condition that they voted for their landlord's nominee at the elections. This small rent was presumably never collected, for after the Reform Bill was passed and Weobley ceased to return Members, the Marquis' agent overlooked the fact that no service was given or rent paid for the tenements the ex-burgesses occupied. When the omission was discovered many years afterwards, not only did the tenants refuse to pay a rent of any sort, but further claimed the property as their own, as they had been in undisputed possession for twenty years and upwards, and in the end the Marquis lost his property.

Another erstwhile inn stands at the corner of the old road to Hereford. Beneath the heavy cloak of ivy now entirely covering the building is hidden the old timber house that once gave shelter to Charles I. in the stormy times of the great rebellion. Here the unfortunate King slept on the night of Friday, the 5th of September, 1645. On the previous day he was at Hereford, his approach having caused the Scots to raise the siege of that city after an investment lasting six weeks, from whence he journeyed to Leominster, and so to Weobley. In those days this house was known as the Unicorn Inn, but soon after, in honour of his visit, it was changed to the Crown Inn, and has, since it ceased to be an hostelry, been re-named the Throne Farm. Charles passed through Weobley again on the 18th of the same month, having

gone in the same day from Hereford to Holm Lacy, back again to Hereford, and then to Weobley and Presteign, a journey which occupied him from six in the morning till midnight.

The majority of houses in Weobley to this day are the beautiful old black and white timber structures which were universal in Herefordshire two hundred years ago. A considerable number of the older houses have been pulled down in the last fifty years, and the process of demolition and decay is, alas! steadily proceeding. Sufficient, however, is left to enable us to appreciate the skill and artistic talents of the architects who designed them. Nearly opposite the Throne Farm stands the ancient Grammar School, but many years have elapsed since it was used for its original purpose; nevertheless, it has undergone very little change during the two and a half centuries of its existence. The porch is enriched with some quaint carving, typical of the early Jacobean period, about which time it must have been erected. In the High Street is a house which, until half a century ago, was a fine specimen of the better-class homes of the wealthy townspeople of Herefordshire in the sixteenth century, but unfortunately it has undergone considerable alterations, the old projecting diamond-paned windows having been removed from the front facing the street, and only recently an unsightly addition has been made, involving the destruction of the three old windows remaining on the north side. It is said that in this house one Tomkins became the proud father of thirty-two children, and that they were all born in the same room. Another house now standing dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and has some good Gothic barge boards and Gothic tracery beneath the eaves at the sides of the projecting gables, while the pointed doorway is also part of the original structure. A little further along the Hay and Kington Road remains a cottage, the end whereof may be cited as a good example of a house built

Old Timber Houses, Weobley.

on massive oak "crucks" reaching from the roof to the ground. The construction of buildings on "crucks" marks a very early stage in the evolution of the English house, and may more often be observed in ancient tithe or other barns. Weobley once could boast the possession of a fine old timber market and town hall supported on oak pillars, but about fifty years ago, having like other old buildings become sadly in need of repair, the inhabitants having no further use for it, their market and burgesses being abolished, decided to hasten its end by pulling it down. A natural question that will present itself to whoever studies these old timber edifices is, Who were the architects that designed and constructed them? Their names for the most part have been long outlived by their creations, but to this there is one noticeable exception, namely, John Abel of Sarnesfield. Here may be identified a man of genius concerning whom we have many particulars, and whose work we are able to point out as still existing, albeit during the last century several of his masterpieces have perished, not so much by age as by the ruthless hand of the vandal. This John Abel was, we are informed by Blount of Orleton, his contemporary, the most famous architect of his time, and that he engraved his own tombstone when ninety years old, and died at the advanced age of ninety-seven, in the year 1674.[1] His tombstone still exists in the churchyard at Sarnesfield, with a quaint inscription, the figure of himself, and his two wives facing him, and the emblems of his profession—the compasses, square, and rule—with an hour-glass below. He built the market-houses of Leominster, Kington, and Brecon, the Grammar School at Kington, and restored the roof of Abbey Dore Church—all undoubtedly his work, as documentary evidence can prove; while it is not improbable that further research might lead to other buildings

1 On his monument, which has been re-cut, the date is 1694, but in the Parish Register, this entry appears under 1674, "Johannes Abell senior sepultus fuit vltimo die Januarij," so no doubt Blount is correct.

being identified as his work. Another market-house or town hall built of timber still exists at Ledbury, and is a fine specimen of its kind, standing on timber pillars, with rooms above. Pembridge also possesses a seventeenth century timber market-hall, but without any superstructure, and although it is no longer required for the purposes for which it was designed, it forms a pleasing and picturesque feature in the centre of the village. Hereford once could boast a magnificent Elizabethan town hall, finally razed to the ground in 1862, but before this it had been entirely shorn of its original characteristics, for about 1750 the upper storey was removed to lighten the weight, and the rest of the structure was remodelled in the style of the period. It stood on twenty-seven oak pillars, and in the hall on the first floor were held the assizes, quarter sessions, etc., and the upper floor was divided into rooms for the fourteen different trading companies of the city. Moreover, externally, it was adorned with a wealth of gables and quaint carving, which, combined with the position that it occupied, rendered it the most picturesque building in the city.

Throughout the Shire there still exist a large number of fine old timber mansions, such as Knill Court, which was enlarged about 1561; Orleton Court, the seat of the Blount family; The Wythall, near Ross; The Ley, in Weobley, for many years the residence of the ancient family of Brydges, and built by James Brydges in 1589, with no fewer than eight gables on the north or front side; Luntley Court, in Dilwyn, dated 1674; and many others in a more or less perfect state of preservation. Space does not permit a description of their beauties, their historic associations, and the halo of romance that surrounds them all in a greater or lesser degree. Neither do mansion houses, town halls, market places, and schools exhaust the uses to which this style of building was adapted, for it may also be found employed with good effect in the erection of churches and church towers, porches, and lych-

gates, pigeon houses of most elaborate design, and in the construction of barns and other farm buildings. These timber-framed structures, owing to a more general use of bricks, went out of fashion early in the eighteenth century, and the finest work will be found to have been executed between 1570 and 1650. As comparatively few of these old edifices are now in existence, it behoves everyone to exert themselves wherever possible to preserve those that remain, for the benefit of future generations and as examples of how our ancestors succeeded in combining picturesqueness and beauty with utility and strength.

GEORGE MARSHALL.

THE MARTYRDOM OF FATHERS CADWALLADOR AND KEMBLE.

By the Right Rev. Prior Cummins, O.S.B.

THE religious changes of the sixteenth century were too sudden and too sweeping to be at once universally accepted by the English people; and notwithstanding the enactment of stringent laws to enforce conformity, many years elapsed, especially in the border counties, before the old faith was uprooted. It had been made high treason by statute of 27th Elizabeth to receive Holy Orders abroad or to exercise priestly functions at home; whilst heavy and recurring fines, with imprisonment and confiscation, wore out the constancy or wasted the fortunes of laymen who refused to conform to the State religion. Except, however, when Parliament or some local authority stirred up the embers of bigotry, the penal legislation was too ferocious to be consistently enforced in all its severity. In the more distant or inaccessible counties multitudes of "Recusants" still clung to their former faith, encouraged and supported by a succession of devoted priests, who, disguised or in hiding, or with the tacit connivance of tolerant neighbours, contrived to elude the terrors of the Penal Code. To these harsh laws, however, two priests fell victims, both being natives of Herefordshire, the story of whose simple heroism and fidelity unto death deserves to be chronicled here.

The first of these was Father Roger Cadwallador, who was executed at Leominster in 1610; the other, Father John Kemble, put to death at Hereford in 1679.

Roger Cadwallador, the eldest son of a substantial yeoman, was born at Stretton Sugwas, near Hereford, about the year 1567, and made his studies at the English colleges of Rheims and Valladolid.[1] Ordained in this latter city in 1594, he came back that same year to England, and began a missionary career of sixteen years, all of which were spent in his native county. Father Cadwallador had some repute as a scholar and a controversialist, and translations of his from the Greek were long extant in print. A pious, prudent, and zealous missioner, he was successful "in winning over many souls to Christ and His Church, especially among the poorer sort, for whose comfort and spiritual assistance he spared no pains, night or day, usually performing his journeys on foot." His success made the authorities more anxious for his apprehension, and on Easter Day, 1610, he was seized by James Prichard, under-sheriff of the county, at the house of Mrs. Winifred Scroope, a widow, who resided within eight miles of Hereford. At his examination before Dr. Bennet, Bishop of Hereford, Father Cadwallador argued shrewdly for his life, bearing himself manfully, but without bravado. The case turned upon his being in Holy Orders, which, in the absence of witnesses, it was difficult to prove; and there were no false brethren to betray him. Upon being pressed, however, he acknowledged both his priesthood and his proper name, adding that the former should surely make nothing against him, especially in the presence of a Bishop! "For, my lord," said he, "either you must admit yourself to be a priest, or I can safely prove that you are no bishop." The prelate insisted that Christ is the one sacrificing Priest of the New Testament in the only meaning of the name not common to all Christians, to which the confessor shrewdly replied: "Make that good, I pray you, my lord, for so you will prove that I, too, am no more a priest

[1] The College at Valladolid had been endowed by Sir F. Englefield, a refugee recusant, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

than any other man, and consequently no traitor or offender against your law." But if the priest had the best of the argument, the Bishop had the power of the law, and Father Cadwallador was remitted to the next Assizes, which, on account of the pestilence, were held that year, not in the county town, but in Leominster.

A curious story of some local interest is told in connection with this plague. In an old *Life of St. Thomas of Hereford*, the author (Father Strange) narrates that the Catholics, who were very numerous in the city, walked in procession through the streets, carrying the relics of St. Thomas, and that "thereupon the plague suddenly surceased."

During an imprisonment of six months, Father Cadwallador suffered much from the severity of his confinement and the gaoler's inhumanity; he was laden with irons day and night, insulted by the gaoler's wife, and worried by controversial disputes with the Bishop; yet his cheerfulness and courage never failed. He used to liken the jangle of the shackles on his legs to the music of the little bells which the Jewish high priests wore about the fringe of their vestments. He was forced to travel on foot from Hereford to the Assizes at Leominster, weighed down by chains, and worn out by sickness and ill-usage; and we have a pathetic description of him toiling along the hot road and over the steep Dinmore Hill, with a boy walking by his side to hold up the heavy shackles with a cord.

Refusing to purchase life by denial of his convictions, he was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, though no other treason than his priesthood was laid to his charge. Before his death crowds of people came to visit him, most of them strangers, whose tears and proffers of aid gave evident signs of their sympathy. These he courteously thanked, reminding them how glorious a thing it was to die for Christ and the Catholic faith. At the place of execution he professed true allegiance

to the King, but refused the oath which denied the spiritual authority of the Pope. He forgave his enemies, and prayed particularly for the Bishop, "wishing him a higher place in heaven than himself." He suffered at Leominster on August 27th, 1610, in the forty-third year of his age, the sentence being carried out by a bungling executioner in all the savage details of a traitor's death, and with more than usual barbarity.

The bystanders at Father Cadwallador's execution, struck by his patience and constancy, exclaimed that his death would "give great confirmation to all the papists of Herefordshire." It may well have influenced the vocation of the second Catholic confessor of the county, for John Kemble, who was a boy of eleven at the time, had probably known the martyr and received ministrations at his hands. The Kembles were a good local family, not without distinction of various kinds. The priest's nephew, Captain Richard Kemble, of Pembridge Castle, saved the King's life at the Battle of Worcester, and refused a knighthood after the Restoration; whilst other descendants of the family have won fame on quite another stage from that on which the martyr's part was played.

Born at Rhydycar Farm, near St. Weonards, in 1599, John Kemble studied at Douai for some years previous to his ordination there in 1625, and returning that same year to his native county, he began the long apostolate that ushered in his martyrdom. The Catholics of this district during the seventeenth century were numerous, fairly organised, and well supplied with priests. Strong in numbers, and sheltered by a wild, inaccessible country, they were further protected by great nobles like the Herberts of Raglan, as well as by many lesser gentry. The disturbance at Allensmore in 1605 showed their spirit. A recusant, Alice Wellington, having died in the parish, the Vicar refused to allow her burial in the churchyard; so one night the Catholics assembled in force, drove off the parson and his friends, and buried the

woman with the old religious rites. That same year the Bishop of Hereford complained to Lord Salisbury of the "numbers and desperate courses" of these "rude and barbarous people," adding: "If we go out with few, we shall be beaten home; if we levy any strength, we are descried, and they are all fled to the woods, and there they will lurk until the assizes be past."

At the Cwm in Llanrothal, above the Monnow, the Jesuits founded a college in 1622, which they held under the Marquess of Worcester, and in which several priests resided. The Franciscans are known to have had a house at the Darren in the same confines of the two counties, while other secular and religious priests resided in Hereford. When the Roundheads took the city in 1645, most of the principal families were said—though, probably, in exaggeration—to belong to the old faith; and at the siege of Goodrich nearly every man of the Royalist garrison was a Catholic.

It was to this scattered flock, harassed by persecution and dispirited by defections, that Father Kemble ministered during fifty-four years, passing from manor-house and castle to farmhouse and cottage, but finding his usual home with his relations at Pembridge Castle, near Welsh Newton. He was generally known as a pious, peaceable, and devoted priest; and though his lot was a hard and dangerous one, yet there must have been long periods when, secure in the goodwill of neighbours who had known him all their lives, he enjoyed comparative safety. At length, however, in his eightieth year, the venerable man fell a victim to popular passion excited by the feigned plots of Titus Oates. The Bishop of Hereford at this time was Dr. Herbert Croft, who had himself been educated at Douai, where his father, Sir Herbert Croft, had in his old age joined the English Benedictines. Urged on by Parliament to more energetic action in his diocese, the Bishop commissioned Captain Scudamore, of Kentchurch, who promptly pillaged and

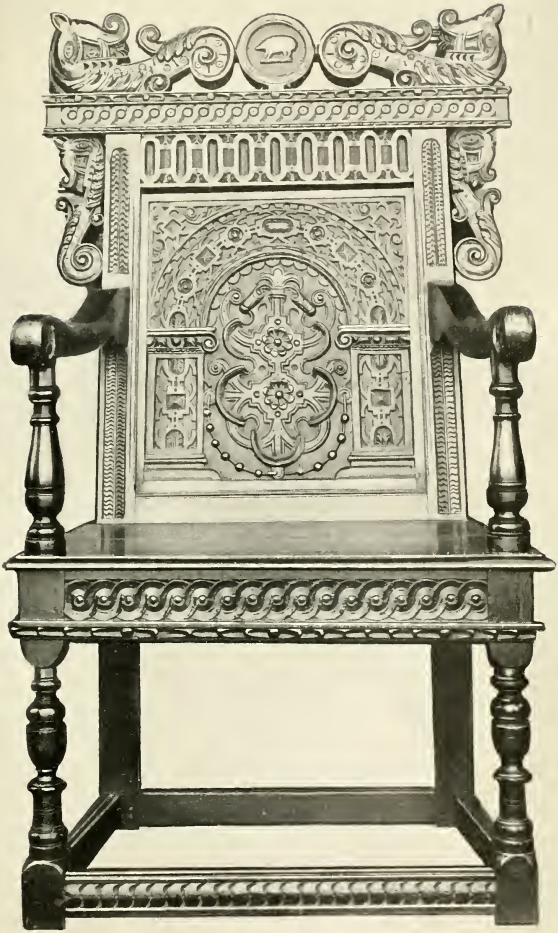
broke up the establishment at the Cwm, sending the books, etc., to the Cathedral; hunted down Father David Lewis, who was afterwards martyred at Usk; and arrested Father Kemble at Pembridge Castle in the December of 1678. Warned of the danger by his friends, the old man refused to hide himself, for "in the course of nature he must die ere long, and it would be better for him to die for his religion." He was first committed to Hereford Gaol, and then taken up to London for examination; though when confronted with Oates and Bedloe, they both refused to implicate him in the plot. In June he was sent back to Hereford. During these journeys he suffered great agonies from the infirmities of his years, and the hardship of his treatment, travelling part of the way on foot, and having to be strapped on the horse when he rode. At the Summer Assizes held in the old Town Hall on August 4th, 1679, he was indicted before Chief Justice Scroggs for saying Mass at Pembridge Castle, and received the usual sentence. Popular sympathy went out to the innocent old man, whose blameless life and kindly disposition had endeared him to all who knew him. When the children of Captain Scudamore visited him in prison, he received them with pleasure, treating them to some dainties which his friends had sent him; and being asked why he so petted his captor's children, he answered that he held their father to be his best friend. A pen-and-ink sketch of him which still exists was taken at this time by his gaoler.

Tradition tells a story characteristic of the old priest's heroic simplicity and cheerfulness. He and his gaoler used to smoke their pipes together! When they came to carry him to execution, he requested time to finish his prayers, and then to be allowed one last pipe of tobacco! The request was readily granted, the under-Sheriff (Mr. Humphrey Digges) smoking another. When Father Kemble had finished his prayers and his pipe, he took a cup of sack and said he was ready to go! The

incident gave rise to a local custom, once common, of calling the parting smoke "a Kemble pipe."

In the evening of August 22nd, 1679, the old man was dragged on a hurdle from the prison to Widemarsh Common, the place of execution being traditionally handed down as near the trees at the north-east corner. He met his fate with fortitude and dignity, and died professing his innocence of any plot, and forgiving those who had brought him to death. After hanging for fully half-an-hour before he was dead, he was cut down and decapitated, but there is reason to think that his body was spared the last brutal indignities. The remains, handed over to Captain Kemble, his nephew, were buried at Welsh Newton, close by the churchyard cross. The left hand of the martyr is preserved in a rich reliquary in the sacristy of St. Francis Xavier's, at Hereford. An altar and vestments used by him are still kept in the Catholic Church at Monmouth; and the grave at Welsh Newton, marked by a plain stone slab, with initials and date, has ever been a place of pilgrimage to the remnant of the flock for which he laboured and died.

JOHN I. CUMMINS, O.S.B.



Chair of John Kyrle—"The Man of Ross."

JOHN KYRLE—THE "MAN OF ROSS"—AND THE KYRLE FAMILY.

By the Rev. C. L. Money-Kyrle, M.A.,
Oriel College, Oxford.

THE town of Ross, situated in the midst of the most beautiful scenery of the Wye Valley, is closely associated with the name of John Kyrle. Though it is true that Kyrle is as much indebted for his fame to the lines which record his virtues in Pope's "Moral Essays," as Augustus and Maecenas are to Virgil and Horace, yet no memorials of old Herefordshire could be considered complete which failed to mention the great services which he rendered in a quiet and unostentatious manner to the town and neighbourhood in which he resided.

John Kyrle was a member of a family which for some centuries previous to his birth had been well known in the county. Settling originally at Homme Green, in Ross, they had moved to Walford in the reign of Edward IV., and in 1483 one Walter Kyrle was lord of Walford Court and of the Hill estates, property being subsequently acquired by the family in the adjoining parishes of English Bicknor and Hope Mansel. To come more nearly to the immediate ancestry of the subject of this biography, it will suffice to state that he was the eldest of the three children of Walter Kyrle of Walford, by Alice, daughter and sole heiress of John Mallet, of Berkeley, Gloucestershire. This Walter was a barrister on the Oxford circuit, and a representative for Leominster in both Parliaments

elected in 1640. In the Civil War he took the side of the Parliamentarian party, and being subsequently appointed a sequestrator of estates in the county, is said to have performed his duties with unusual moderation.

Walter's elder brother, James, who, with his wife, Ann, a sister of Robert Waller the poet, lies buried in the Church of St. Mary de Crypt, was High Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1630.

Their eldest son, Robert Kyrle, born in 1613, took a prominent part in the Civil War, and one which reflected more credit upon his discretion than his loyalty. In his anxiety to be on the winning side, he more than once changed his allegiance from Parliament to King. Having received his military training with the armies of Germany and Holland, he returned to England "about the time the civil distempers commenced," and, owing to his absence, being ignorant of the actual condition of affairs, was induced to accept a commission of lieutenant in the forces of the Parliament. He was soon promoted to be captain of a troop raised to his own hand, and shortly after to be sergeant-major to the Earl of Stamford's regiment of horse. He assisted in the capture of Hereford in 1642. Subsequently, becoming dissatisfied with his position, he joined the King's forces, giving his reasons for doing so in the following curious letter:—

It is not necessity that causes me to go to the King, from whom you have taken his Revenues. You have taken not only his Revenues which should give him bread, but the benevolence (as farre as in you lies) of his people that should maintain his army. It is not ambition to forsake a certain benefit for uncertaine employment, and (in justice) as doubtful a pardon. It is not malice for any particular neglect or injury, for I must confess no man received greater kindness from his superior officers or more ample thanks from yourselves than I have done—noe civill humane respect, but a perfect discovery of those false lights that have hitherto misled me, and the deep apprehension of the horror which attends the persevering in such errors. . . . Nothing wrought more upon me than that strange mystery, that fighting for the safety of the King, was shooting at him, as at Edgehill and elsewhere, where I thank God I was not. . . . . The very sight of His Majesty's Army, the discipline, unanimity, and

exact obedience thereof, the excellent conversation of so many gallant and noble personages, who know no other emulation than that of honour, who dare doe anything but what is base, and (on my soule) daily expresse hearty desires of peace (not out of any defect in the army) but to prevent the ruine and procure the happinesse of the country; to conclude, what English gentleman that ever heard of the antient honour of this kingdome or would preserve that of himself and family, can tamely see our courage (terrible sometimes to foreign nations) basely degenerate into a rebellion against our naturall Prince, to whom malice itself can object no crime, and therefore casts upon him the faults of others, and since it cannot touch His person quarrels at His Crowne; you see him powerful at the head of His Army, and may see him glorious at His realms of Peace. You ought not to doubt his justice, and (if you will) you may (so I have done) obtain his mercy. . . .

Yr. humble servant,

R. K.

Whilst acting as lieutenant-colonel in the garrison at Monmouth, his discretion appears once more to have got the better of his loyalty, and led him to rejoin his old friends.

The possession of Monmouth as the key of South Wales was perpetually contested during the Civil War; it was alternately in possession of both sides. Colonel Murphy, after capturing Brackle and Chepstow, took the town and Castle of Monmouth, the manner of gaining thereof being very remarkable, and certified to be thus: Colonel Kyrle, who revolted from the Parliament upon the loss of Bristol, went out with a party some miles from Monmouth to fetch in provisions, and being so full of jollity as security, Colonel Massey fell upon them in the midst of their mirth and surprised them. Colonel Kyrle, being conscious of his former services to the Parliament, feared he should not obtain quarter without a recompense, and thereupon did undertake to bring Colonel Massey's men into Monmouth, offering to march in the front, which was concluded accordingly; and at his coming to the guard, they thinking it had been their own forces, let down the drawbridge, and without any opposition received them into the town, and they demanded it for the Parliament, at which the garrison was so exceedingly amazed, that some of them fled away and left their arms, and the rest called out for quarter, and so this town being of great consequence, together with the Castle, was reduced to the obedience of the Parliament with the loss of not above five men on both sides.—*Perfect Diurnal*, September, 1644.

This act of treachery, and his severity towards some Royalist families, gained him the title of "The Stony-

hearted Rebel." It, however, achieved its purpose, and Colonel Kyrle was appointed Governor of Monmouth and its castle by the Parliament, which granted him a free pardon and restored his estates.

We must not be too severe in our judgment of his conduct in an age when it was by no means uncommon to copy the example of the Vicar of Bray; and in justice to Kyrle it should be added that at the close of the war he did his best to atone for his previous conduct by using his influence in the Parliament on behalf of his Royalist friends, and later on in assisting to restore the Monarchy. He died in 1669, aged sixty-one years.

His portrait, by Dobson, hangs in the oak-panelled dining-room at Homme House, Much Marcle, and represents a face of singular charm and refinement, with the flowing locks of a Cavalier.

John Kyrle was born in the parish of Dymock, Gloucestershire, on the 22nd of May, 1637, and was baptized on the fourth of the following month. He was educated at the Grammar School in Gloucester, and at the age of seventeen became a gentleman-commoner at Balliol College, Oxford. He did not take a degree, but before leaving the University presented his college with a handsome silver tankard. This has engraved upon it the arms of Balliol and of the donor, and bears an inscription:—

> Poculum Charitatis ex dono Johannis Kyrle de Ross in agro Herefordiensi, et hujus Collegii Socii Commensalis.

Kyrle was intended for the Bar, but does not appear to have practised, and certainly did not do so after taking up his residence in Ross, where he settled probably about the time of the Restoration. Here he served several minor offices, and in 1683 acted as High Sheriff of the county. His income does not seem to have exceeded £500 per annum, but with this he dispensed boundless charities, and also his falls of timber in Dymock Wood added considerably to his estate. His life

was one of quiet usefulness rather than of great events, and as such Thomas Hearne speaks of it in his diary:—

1733. April. The man of Ross, whose name was Kirle, was never married. He was a very humble, good-natured man. He was a man of little or no literature. He always studied to do what good, charitable offices he could, and was always pleased when an object offered. He was reverenced and respected by all people. He used to drink and entertain with Cider, and was a sober, discreet man. He would tell people when they dined or supped with him, that he would, if they pleased, let them have wine, but that his own drink was cider, and that he found it most agreeable, and that he did not care to be extravagant with his small fortune. His estate was £500 per ann., and no more, with which he did wonders. . . . When any litigious suits fell out, he would always stop them, and prevent people going to law. They would, when differences happened, say, "Go to the Great Man of Ross and he will decide the matter."

Another quotation from the same source goes to show that even the highest virtue is not without its detractors:—

1734. April. Mr. Matthew Gibson, Rector of Abbey Dore, called on me. He said he knew Mr. Kirle very well, and that his wife was his near relation, I think her uncle. He said that Mr. Kirle did a great deal of good, but that 'twas all out of vanity and ostentation, being the vainest man living, and that he always hated his relations and would never look upon nor do anything for them, tho' many were very poor. I know not what credit to give to Mr. Gibson in this account, especially since he hath more than once spoken inveterately against that good honest man, Dr. Adam Ottley, late Bishop of St. David's.

It does not seem probable that John Kyrle was personally known to Pope, or even that Pope was ever a visitor in the county, though local tradition speaks of him as staying at Holme Lacy, and visiting a Roman Catholic family living at old Over Ross.

That Pope did stay at Oakley Park, the seat of Lord Bathurst, is a fact, and it was in all probability during one of his visits here that, requiring an illustration for his poem, "Moral Essays," he heard of the virtues of Kyrle, and proceeded to make enquiries. In doing so, he was much assisted by a well-known publisher of the name of Jacob Tonson, who, having settled near Ledbury,

was able to obtain the required information. To him, in November, 1731, Pope wrote as follows:—

You live not far from Ross. I desire you to get for me an exact information of the Man of Ross—what was his Christian and surname—what year he died and what age, and to transcribe his epitaph, if he has one, and any particulars you can procure about him. I intend to make him an example in a poem of mine.—*Bayfordbury MSS.*

Tonson's answer is not preserved, but that it contained full information, Pope's reply, written in the following year, will show:—

Twickenham, June 7th, 1732.

DEAR SIR,—Before I received your last I intended to write to you my thanks for your great diligence (or let me give it a higher title), zeal you have shown in giving me so many particulars of the Man of Ross. They are more than sufficient for my honest purpose of setting up his fame as an example to greater and wealthier men how they ought to use their fortunes. You know few of these particulars can be made to shine in verse, but I have selected the most affecting, and added two or three which I learnt from other hands. A small exaggeration you must allow me as a poet, yet I was determined the groundwork at least should be truth, which made me so scrupulous in my enquiries; and sure, considering that the world is bad enough to be always extenuating and lessening what virtue is amongst us, it is but reasonable to pay it sometimes a little over measure to balance that injustice, especially when it is done for example and encouragement to others. If any man shall ever happen to endeavour to emulate the Man of Ross, 'twill be no manner of harm if I make him think he was something more charitable and more beneficent than really he was, for so much more good it would put the imitator upon doing. And further, I am satisfyed in my conscience (from ye strokes in two or three accounts I have of his character) that it was in his will and in his heart to have done every good a poet can imagine.

My motive in singling out this man was twofold; first, to distinguish real and solid worth from showish or plausible expence, and virtue from vanity; and secondly, to humble ye pride of greater men by an opposition of one so obscure and so distant from all ye sphere of public glory—this proud town. To send you any of the particular verses will be much to ye prejudice of ye whole, which, if it has any beauty, derives it from ye manner in which it is placed, and the contraste (as ye painters call it) in which it stands with the pompous figures of famous or rich or highborn men.

I was not sorry he had no monument, and will put that circumstance into a note, perhaps into ye body of ye poem itself (unless you entreat

the contrary in your own favour by your zeal to erect one). I would, however, in this case spare censure upon his heir (so well as he deserves it), because I dare say after seeing his picture everybody will turn that circumstance to his honour, and conclude the Man of Ross himself would not have any monument in memory of his own good name. . . .

Adieu, and health and peace and fair weather attend you.

Yours,

A. POPE.

To Jacob Tonson, Esq.,
Hasells, Ledbury, Herefordshire.

Pope published his "Moral Essays" in 1733, in which the following poetical biography of the Man of Ross appeared. The lines, as will be seen, record an imaginary conversation between the poet and Lord Bathurst:—

But all your praises why should Lords engross?
Rise, honest Muse, and sing the Man of Ross.
Pleas'd Vaga echoes through her winding bounds,
And rapid Severn hoarse applause resounds.
Who hung with woods yon mountain's sultry brow,
From the dry rock who bade the water flow,
Not to the skies in useless columns tost,
Or in prowd falls magnificently lost.
But clear and artless pouring through the plain
Health to the sick and solace to the swain.
Whose causeway parts the vale in shady rows,
Whose seats the weary traveller repose.
Who taught that heav'n directed spire to rise?
"The Man of Ross" each lisping babe replies.
Behold the market place, with poor o'erspread,
The Man of Ross divides the weekly bread.
He feeds yon almshouse, neat, but void of state,
Where age and want sit smiling at the gate.
Him portion'd maids, apprentic'd orphans bless,
The young who labour, and the old who rest.
Is any sick? the Man of Ross relieves,
Prescribes, attends, the med'cine makes and gives.
Is there a variance? enter but his door,
Balk'd are the courts and contest is no more.
Despairing quacks with curses fled the place,
And vile attornies, now an useless race.

Lord B.—Thrice happy man enabled to pursue
What all so wish, but want the pow'r to do.
Oh say, what sums that generous hand supply,
What mines to swell that boundless charity?

Pope.—Of debts and taxes, wife and children clear,
This man possess'd—five hundred pounds a year.
Blush, grandeur, blush! prowd courts withdraw your blaze,
Ye little stars hide your diminished rays.
Lord B.—And what? no monument, inscription, stone,
His race, his form, his name, almost unknown.
Pope.—Who builds a church to God and not to fame
Will never mark the marble to his name.
Go, search it there, where to be born and die,
Of rich and poor, makes all the history.
—"Moral Essays," Epis. 3.

If the various allusions in the poem are carefully examined, it will at once be clear that they are founded on fact, and that, granting some slight poetic license, the sketch of Kyrle remains true to life.

The Man of Ross was a great horticulturist, and planting was his hobby. His favourite tree was the elm. The line—

Who hung with woods yon mountain's sultry brow?

refers generally to his taste in this respect, and more particularly to the planting of the Cleeve-field Bank, opposite Wilton—a part of his own estate. The elms in the churchyard at Ross, about a dozen of which are still standing, were also planted by him, and have an average circumference at five feet from the ground of over twelve feet.

Kyrle also directed his attention towards securing for the town an efficient water supply.

From the dry rock who made the water flow?

The water from the river Wye was driven up by an engine, and issued in a fountain through the "dry rock" in the middle of the Prospect—a piece of ground rising high above the river, of which it commands a fine view. This he obtained on lease for five hundred years from Lord Weymouth, with the intention of laying it out as a public recreation ground. The ground was surrounded by a stone wall, in which were inserted three handsome

gateways, and on one of these, which remains, may still be read the date of its erection (1700), also a curious monogram, in which may be traced every letter in John Kyrle's name. A sun-dial and square plate of brass, with the following inscription, served further to embellish the Prospect walls:—

ANNO DOMINI 1700.

	YARDS.
1. Once about this place, ten feet from the wall, is	372
2. A Statute or Post Mile, is	1760
3. Five times about this place is more than a mile by . .	100
4.	
5. From Ross Church to Weston Church is	4098
6. Which makes two miles and a quarter and	138
7. Eleven times about this place is short of Weston Church .	6
8.	
9. From Ross Church to Brampton Church by the One Mill is	2780
10. Which makes a mile and a half and	140
11. Seven times about this place is short of Brampton Church .	176
12.	

TRAHIT SUA QUEMQ: VOLUPTAS.

A further work effected by Kyrle for the benefit of his fellow-townsmen is referred to in the line—

Whose causeway parts the vale in shady rows?

A causeway connecting the town with the river had been constructed before the fourteenth century, and further mention is made in the year 1517 of a road and bridge leading from Ross to Wilton. Kyrle did not then build this causeway, but probably restored it, planting trees and erecting seats ("*Whose seats the weary traveller repose?*"). A pretty path running in the direction of the river is still known by the name of John Kyrle's Walk.

The beautiful spire of Ross Church forms a landmark in the surrounding country. It was due to the zeal and architectural knowledge of the Man of Ross that this, being in a dangerous state, was, in the year 1721, taken down and rebuilt. He himself contributed largely towards the expense, and by his example incited others to do the

same ("*Who taught the heaven-directed spire to rise*").[1] From this circumstance it will be gathered that he was a loyal son of the Church. Indeed, he was a daily attendant at the services, leaving any work at which he might be engaged immediately on hearing the chiming of the bells. One of these bells, the great tenor, he had himself presented in 1695, and it bears his name. It was cast at Gloucester, where it is said that he was himself present, and after drinking in an old silver tankard to the health of "Church and King," threw this into the melting-pot, and had it cast in the bell.

Unlike his cousin, Colonel Kyrle, to whom reference has previously been made, "the Man of Ross" was a staunch Loyalist. It was a source of regret to him that from the windows of his house he could not see a medallion of King Charles II. at the east end of the Market Place. To compensate for this, it is said that this loyal servant had cut on the south side, immediately facing his house, a curious logogram in which the letters "F" and "C" are intertwined in a heart. The device is thus explained: "Faithful to Charles in heart."

The poet goes on to describe the charities of our philanthropist: "*The Man of Ross divides the weekly bread.*" This refers to a custom originated by one of the Bishops of Hereford of giving the tolls of all corn brought into the market to the poor of Ross. Kyrle was in the habit of receiving them, and having had the corn ground and made into bread, caused it to be baked in his own oven and distributed it every Saturday on the steps of the Market House.

The almshouse ("*he feeds yon almshouse*") was "an ancient fraternity, suppressed at the Reformation, and subsequently endowed by the Rudhales." It stood in Church Street, and the inmates doubtless benefited by

[1] An entry in the parochial registers refers to the event—"1721. This year the spire was rebuilt, about 16 yards of it. And also three of ye pinnacles."

their proximity to Kyrle's charitable door. Indeed, to all classes alike he dispensed a simple, unostentatious, yet generous hospitality. At his invitation dinners, his guests usually numbered nine, eleven, or, regardless of superstition, thirteen. He loved a long evening and a good story, and always appeared distressed when his guests rose to leave. He smoked tobacco, and would generally smoke two pipes, either at home or elsewhere.

In a century when to read and write was the exception, he interested himself in education, subscribing annually to the Blue Coat School, to which he left in his will a sum of £40. Nor did his interest cease upon the lads leaving school. He took much trouble to get them apprenticed, and many a boy owed a good start in life to his generous assistance ("*apprenticed orphans bless*").

The following story will show how exactly he carried out the evangelical maxim to "give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away."

A year after his death, a tradesman of the town came to his executor and heir, Mr. Vandervort Kyrle, saying, "Sir, I am come to pay some money that I owed the late Mr. Kyrle." After looking over the old gentleman's account book, Mr. V. Kyrle replied that he could find no mention of the debt. "Why, yes," said the tradesman, "that I am aware of. Mr. Kyrle said to me, when he lent me the money, that he did not expect that I should be able to repay it in his lifetime, and that it was very likely that you might want it, and press me for it before I could make it up. 'And so,' said he, 'I won't have any memorandum of it besides what I write and give you with it; and do you pay my kinsman when you can, and when you show him this paper he will see that the money is right, and that he is not to take interest.'" This seems to have been by no means an isolated case.

Several portraits of the Man of Ross are in existence, three of which I have seen. From them I should gather

him to have been somewhat above the middle height, thin and well shaped, with a ruddy face and general air of *bonhomie*. He usually dressed in brown, wearing, after the fashion of his day, a King William's wig. We can picture him seated in his large oak arm-chair, which bears his crest (a hedgehog) carved and gilded in the back, trusted by all for his high character and sense of justice, and giving his decision on points submitted to his arbitration. ("*Is there a variance? Enter but his door, Balked are the courts, and contest is no more.*")

As has been said, Kyrle through life was a humble-minded Christian. He died as he had lived. God was to him the all-wise and powerful Friend Who had watched over his cradle, Who had preserved his youth from vice, Who had made his cup run over with worldly blessings, Who had doubled the value of those blessings by giving a thankful heart to enjoy and friends to share them. We may feel assured that that Psalm was specially endeared to him which represents the Redeemer of mankind under the title of a Shepherd, Whose crook guides the flock safe through gloomy valleys to rich and well-watered pasture. On that goodness to which he ascribed all the happiness of his life he relied in the hour of his death with the love which casteth out fear. He died on the 7th of November, 1724, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after a fortnight's illness. For nine days his body lay in state. On the 20th of November it was, by his express desire, buried beneath the shadow of the spire which he had restored, at the feet of his dear friend, the late Rector, Dr. Whiting, in the presence of the whole population of the town, who manifested the profoundest sorrow.

As is indicated by the final lines of the poem—"*And what? No monument*," etc.— it was long before even the simplest tablet was erected to his memory. Doubtless it was with him, as with the distinguished architect of St. Paul's Cathedral: "Si monumentum requiris,

circumspice!" Yet the piety of a later age has supplied this omission. About the year 1750, Mr. Walter Kyrle placed a blue slate stone within the chancel rails of the Parish Church, on which may be read the inscription:

John Kyrle Esq. 7 Nov. 1724 aet. 88.

At a still later date a worthier monument was erected through the dutiful piety of his cousin Constantia, Lady Dupplin. In her will she directs:—

Whereas I am desirous that a monument be erected to my late Cousin, John Kyrle, called the Man of Ross, I desire the sum of £200 to be applied for that purpose and the character of him by the late Mr. Pope, collected as my executors shall think proper from his writings, inscribed hereon by way of an epitaph.

This direction was carried out, and a tablet of varied coloured marble of pyramidical form was placed upon the north wall of the sanctuary. There is a bust in relief of Kyrle at its top; at the base, his arms, crest, and motto: "Virtute et Fide." The inscription reads as follows:—

This monument was erected in memory of Mr. John Kyrle, commonly call'd the Man of Ross.

Beneath, on a brass plate, is added:—

In virtue of a bequest under the will of Constantia, Viscountess Dupplin, great granddaughter of Sir John Kyrle of Much Marcle in this county, Bart., Lieut. Col. James Money of Much Marcle aforesaid, her executor and heir, erected this monument in memory of her kinsman, John Kyrle. A.D. 1776.

CECIL L. MONEY-KYRLE.

[In the above memoir I have to acknowledge my indebtedness for much valuable information to Duncumb's *County of Hereford*, Vol. III., by the late Judge Cooke, and also to Mr. Stratford, the Editor of the *Ross Gazette*.—C. L. M.-K.

THE EVOLUTION OF HEREFORDSHIRE CYDER.

By E. F. Bulmer, Esq., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.

ALTHOUGH local patriotism has fostered a belief that Herefordshire was the county where cyder first came into use, it is to be feared that this flattering belief is not supported by early or contemporary documentary evidence. This view, doubtless, had its origin in the fact that after the lapse of centuries, during which the county almost literally flowed with cyder, the inhabitants were unable to imagine a period when they were without a beverage which habit had rendered necessary to existence.

The authorities quoted in the Herefordshire *Pomona*, which, in passing, I may state will be found a veritable Thesaurus for all interested, not only locally, but generally, in the early history of the apple and pear, makes it abundantly clear that cyder was in use in many counties, widely apart, in England and Wales, long before it had acquired a popular position in Herefordshire.

In 1282 cyder is mentioned as having been made near Richmond, in Yorkshire; yet in the roll of the household expenses of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford, edited by the Rev. John Webb, no entry occurs of cyder. This roll contains minute details of the expenses of the Bishop in his tour through the Diocese of Hereford, commencing Michaelmas, 1289, and lasting a twelve-month. Details as small as the purchase of an apple and a lemon are

recorded, and it is scarcely possible that, had the use of cyder generally obtained, no reference to it should appear, especially as a record is made of purchases of the white wine of Ledbury, where the grape at that time was certainly cultivated. It may be noted that the growth of grapes for vintage purposes appears at one time to have been fairly common in this and the neighbouring shires. Witness the name of the "Vineyard" still retained by a portion of the City of Hereford; while on the high road from Worcester to Stourport may still be seen a piece of terraced ground, facing south, which was evidently constructed for the growth of grapes.

In little more than a century after Bishop Swinfield cyder would appear to have become a common drink of the people, as in the manuscript Wycliffe Bible, preserved in the new library at Hereford Cathedral, the fifteenth verse of the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, which runs thus in our family Bibles:—

> For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink,

is thus written:—

> For he schal be gret bifore the Lord, and he schal not drinke wyn ne sider.

This point must not, however, be pressed too far, since phonetics or limited scholarship may have had more to do with the translation of *σίκερα* by "sider" than popular sympathies. The date of this manuscript is 1420. But be that as it may, it was not very long before, by a species of natural selection, Herefordshire became the home of the apple, and from the passage of "Gerarde's Herball" quoted on the opening page of the Herefordshire *Pomona*, it appears that, in spite of the start Kent had obtained, Herefordshire in 1397 had forged far ahead. The passage runs:—

> Kent doth abound with apples of most sortes, but I have seene in the pastures and hedgerowes about the grounds of a worshippful gentleman

dwelling two miles from Hereford, called M. Roger Bodnome, so many trees of all sortes that the servants drinke for the most part no other drinke but that which is made of apples. The quantitie is such that by the report of the gentleman hinselfe, the Parson hath for tithe many hogsheads of syder.[1]

It is interesting to speculate, in passing, if this Roger Bodnome was an ancestor of the well-known Herefordshire family, Bodenham. Free license in spelling has never been lacking in the county. Compare the name of Leominster appearing indifferently on the old millstones in the Dilwyn district as "Lemster" and "Lempster."

That there was a ready market awaiting the produce of the vineyards may readily be imagined; for about the year 1400 (Edward III.) a statute was passed which exhorted all merchants to pass into Gascoign to fetch wines "to the intent that by this general license greater plenty may come"; and as the demand increased and the price rose, it was further enacted in the fifteenth century that "no person except those who could spend a hundred marks annually or were of noble birth should keep in his house any vessell of wine exceeding ten gallons."

The same scarcity of wine must have continued all through the wars of the reigns of William of Orange and Anne, and will explain how it was that Herefordshire became one vast orchard. Evelyn, in his *Pomona*, 1629, says: "By the noble example of my Lord Scudamore and of some other public-spirited men in these parts, all Herefordshire is become in a manner but one entire orchard."

Apart from this evidence, the numerous fields, in which can be seen spare apple trees, still indicating the original rows, bear witness of the immense area of land at one

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that the original manuscripts prepared by the contributors of the Herefordshire *Pomona* were not secured for permanent preservation in the Free Library at Hereford. I understand that they contained a numerous amount of lore and learning accumulated from recondite and unrecorded sources. Unfortunately, much of the interesting information collected with so much labour was rejected from publication owing to the exigencies of space.

time devoted to the production of cyder. But there can also be no doubt that with the termination of the Napoleonic wars and the re-establishment of commerce between England and France, the renewal of wine-drinking brought great misfortune to the orchard owners of England. Sufficient wine was imported to destroy the equilibrium in the cyder trade between supply and demand, with the result that orchards became unprofitable from over-production, and were in consequence neglected. In spite of this, choice varieties of cyder and perry still remained in demand in country houses in the cyder shires, and were largely laid down up to and during the first fifty years of last century, and treated with the respect due to vintage wines. Nor did the keeping properties of the liquor betray the trust placed in it, for in many cellars in Herefordshire it was no uncommon thing to find Foxwhelp cyder preserving its aroma and condition after forty or even fifty years; nor were silver tankards unworthy of the cyder, for in most old families these drinking vessels, dating back to Queen Anne or the early Georges, formed some of the most beautiful and valued of heirlooms.

Thanks to this rivalry of wine before referred to, the farmers were left with immense quantities of cyder, which they were anxious to turn into money by hook or crook, and services of every description were remunerated as far as possible by payments in cyder. This being so, the rustics naturally objected to be paid with *debased* coin, and the most deeply-rooted and widely-spread belief in this county connected with cyder is, that water added to it before drinking converts it into a certain and deadly poison. I have never met a countryman who did not believe this, neither have I ever met one who could support his belief by evidence. As a matter of fact, in France, where the consumption of cyder is larger than it could ever have been in England at any time, water is habitually added at the time of drinking by all classes. This belief

is, however, quite sincere, and I have seen labourers mow all day in fierce heat, and go absolutely "dry," sooner than touch cyder that was suspected of recent dilution. Curiously enough, water added at the time of making does not lie under the same ban, but is merely responsible for jokes about the "brook apples," because cyder was often made by piece-work at so much per hogshead, and it was to the interest of the men to add as much water as possible.

Bell-ringers, instead of collecting subscriptions, deputed no small percentage of their numbers to canvass for and collect cyder from the neighbouring farmers and squires, it being considered a fair arrangement that five should ring and two should carry. I have heard tell from eye-witnesses of scenes occurring in belfries of churches, not fifty miles removed from the Cathedral of Hereford, of the sort to have inspired a Smollett or Fielding.

The quantity of cyder which could be consumed by yokels who had graduated under the "free tap" régime was so enormous that it says much for its intrinsic wholesomeness that they lived to boast of their feats. I have heard of traditional heroes, counterpart of the German *bier konig*, who were accredited by an admiring village with having consumed ten gallons a day; from which it would appear that if, as Mr. Weller said, even a millionaire's powers of suction were strictly limited, the village yokels did not all labour under that disability. It is, however, well authenticated that three gallons a day is by no means a rare accomplishment for a countryman in harvest time.

The etiquette of cyder drinking in the field is also very rigid, and no doubt as ancient as it is sociable. One glass, or horn as more commonly, for use among a group appears *de rigueur*, however numerous the drinkers, and the youngest, taking the wooden keg or kostril, pours out the two or three "tots" apiece. In the farmhouse a favourite bucolic joke was the "frog mug," specimens of

which are now becoming rare. Fastened to the bottom of the mug was a china frog in the act of jumping, which only came into view when the drinker was on the point of taking his last gulp.

E. F. BULMER.

WORDSWORTH AT BRINSOP COURT AND GOODRICH CASTLE.

By T. Hutchinson, Esq.

MONG the ancient mansions of Herefordshire Brinsop Court may be termed an insoluble enigma. Originally quadrangular, with two sides protected by a moat, fed, as is alleged, by a spring, it presents all the appearance of having been a monastery. The refectory remains, as also a structure which may have been the chapel, while some of the windows, being lancet-shaped and of a singular pattern, suggest cells. One side of the quadrangle has disappeared, and the western side, *i.e.*, the chambers occupied by Wordsworth and the Hutchinsons, has been modernised. No trace, nevertheless, can be discovered of an ecclesiastical past. It was not, apparently, one of the alien priories suppressed by Edward III.; indeed, at that date it would seem to have belonged to the ancient family of Dansey, whose name constantly recurs in the history of the Shire, and who were allied to most of the old houses. A very beautiful monument to Sir Francis Russell, son of the Cavalier Sir William by Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Reade, was erected about the time of Queen Anne in Brinsop Church by his daughter, who had married the Dansey of the period; and the beautiful little church itself was restored in memory of the great poet who spent so many peaceful hours at Brinsop Court. William Evans, for fifty years gardener at the Vicarage, testified concerning

Brinsop Court, near Hereford—North View, showing Chapel.

Wordsworth that he was wont "to go mooning about the lanes." The native mind regarded the poet as a curiosity.

Wordsworth's first visit to Brinsop was in the year 1827, when he was accompanied by his wife and Miss Southey, the eldest daughter of the poet Southey. In 1835 he and his wife were again there, and on this occasion he wrote three sonnets connected with the district—(i.) Roman antiquities at Bishopstone; (ii.) St. Catherine's, Ledbury; (iii.) To ——. No name is given to whom this last sonnet was addressed; but it was to Miss Loveday Walker, daughter of a former Rector of Bishopstone, who in the sonnet is called Lesbia. It relates an incident which took place at Bishopstone Rectory. Miss Walker was seated in the drawing room playing the piano—this in the sonnet, by poetic licence, is called a harp—when a pet dove she had let out of its cage came and flapped its wings against the window, and before she could let it in a hawk pounced down and carried off the bird. The sonnet begins: "Wait, prithee, wait!" Miss Walker died only a year or two ago in Hereford.

In 1837 the poet and Mrs. Wordsworth again visited Brinsop, with their daughter, Dora, but on this occasion he had to hasten his departure on account of illness and inflammation in the eyes, which frequently gave him trouble when composing. The next visit he paid was in 1841, when he was accompanied by his wife, and on this occasion he assisted in designing the garden at Brinsop Vicarage. In horticulture he had great taste, as is shown by the beautiful winter garden still in existence at Coleorton, Leicestershire (the residence of his friend, the late Sir George Beaumont, the celebrated landscape-painter), which he entirely designed and laid out. On this occasion he also visited my father at the neighbouring parish of Hentland.

In 1845, his last visit, he was accompanied by his wife and an old servant, who died while there, and is buried

in Brinsop churchyard. He and his wife also visited Grantsfield, and spent a night at Bockleton Vicarage with the Rev. J. and T. E. Miller. There is a large stone on the road between the Church House, Laysters, and Wilden, marking a spot where he sat and admired the view, and on which the Millers had his initials, "W. W.," cut. I had almost forgotten to say that on one of his visits he planted the cedar tree at Brinsop Court.

The poet Southey visited Brinsop on one occasion, and Edward Quillinan, another of the Lake poets, who afterwards married Dora Wordsworth, the poet's daughter, came there constantly for the shooting. The Court was at this time visited by Dorothy Wordsworth, the poet's sister, and Sara Hutchinson, his wife's sister, to both of whom he was indebted for much assistance in his poetical works. Sara Hutchinson was at one time Southey's amanuensis. Henry Crabb Robinson was also another celebrated man of that time who visited Brinsop. He was a great friend of Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, and Lamb.

In the January number of *Temple Bar*, 1877, is a paper written by Miss Anne Beale, entitled "The Wordsworths at Brinsop Court." She relates two anecdotes of a favourite dog, which are interesting from their connection with Dorothy Wordsworth and Edward Quillinan. Dorothy was not naturally fond of dogs, but this one, a spaniel, "Prince" by name, attached himself to her, and accompanied her unheeded during her long solitary walks. On the eve of one of her departures from the Court he discovered what was about to happen, and lay at her bedroom door all night. The following morning he secreted himself in the cart that conveyed her luggage to Hereford, and finally met her at the coach. It was with difficulty that they prevented the animal from following her, and induced him to go home. Some time after, when poor "Prince" was stricken in years, he became sadly infirm, and a burden not only to those about him, but

also to himself. However, his young master, George Hutchinson, did not thus rate the old dog, and when the command to get rid of him was repeatedly issued, he begged him off with entreaties and tears. At last, however, the fiat went forth that "Prince" must die, so the faithful dog was hanged by a servant named Jerry Preece during the temporary absence of his friend George. Quillinan was staying at the Court at the time, and was engaged in laying night lines across the moat. When the boy returned, he unadvisedly sent him to search for worms in "the Duck's Nest," a spot referred to by Wordsworth in his fifteenth miscellaneous sonnet. When George, in high spirits at his quest, drew near this retired place, he chanced to look up at a neighbouring willow tree. There he saw his beloved "Prince" ignominiously hanging by the neck. The shock was so great that the boy went half mad with grief, and would not be consoled. Quillinan, who had not known of the place of execution, was much distressed. Retiring to his room, he hastily wrote the following impromptu lines by way of consolation, which he threw out of the window facing the cedar and moat to the boy wailing beneath, with the words, "Look, George, here's an epitaph":—

EPITAPH ON A FAVOURITE DOG.

Stop! passenger, and drop a tear,
A most ill-fated Prince lies here;
His reign in youth was wild and pleasant,
He hunted rabbit, hare, and pheasant.
Grown old, he bid adieu to sport,
And mildly ruled at Brinsop Court;
But shame on these reforming times
Of revolutionary crimes!
This harmless, old and good Prince-royal
Was vilely used by hands disloyal;
His noble neck was hempen-collared,
And stretched upon a willow pollard.
Oh! wicked traitor, Jerry Preece,
Repent if you would die in peace!

1832.

These lines were engraven on a stone and placed at the head of Prince's grave. The remains of the good dog still rest at Brinsop Court, but the tombstone has been removed to Miss Hutchinson's garden at West Malvern.

. . . . . .

Having often heard it stated that Goodrich Castle was the scene of Wordsworth's poem, "We are Seven," and also having heard this disputed, I have collected a few notes concerning what the poet himself says on the subject from Professor Knight's *Life of Wordsworth*. He visited Goodrich Castle twice, first of all in the year 1793, and again in 1841. With regard to the poem "We are Seven," he says: "I composed it while walking to and fro in the grove at Alfoxden, and if my friends will not think it too trifling to relate, I composed the last stanza first, beginning with the last line. When it was all but finished, I came in and recited it to my sister (Dorothy Wordsworth) and Mr. Coleridge, and said 'that a prefatory stanza must be added, and I should sit down to our little tea meal with greater pleasure if my task was finished.' I mentioned in substance what I wished to be expressed, and Coleridge immediately threw off the stanza thus: 'A little child, dear brother Jem,' etc., etc. I objected to the rhyme 'dear brother Jem' as being ludicrous, but we all enjoyed the joke of pitching in our friend James Tobin's name, who was familiarly called 'Jem.' He was the brother of the dramatist; and this reminds me of an anecdote which it may be worth while here to notice. The said Jem got a sight of the 'Lyrical Ballads' as it was going through the press at Bristol, during which time I was residing in that city. One evening he came to me with a grave face, and said: 'Wordsworth, I have seen the volume that you and Coleridge are about to publish. There is one poem in it which I earnestly entreat you will cancel, for, if published, it will make you everlastingly ridiculous.' I answered that I was much obliged at the interest he took in my good name as a writer, and begged to

know what was the unfortunate piece he alluded to? He said, 'It is called "We are Seven."' 'Nay,' said I, 'that shall take its chance, however,' and he left me in despair. I have only to add that in the spring of 1841 I visited Goodrich Castle, not having seen that part of the Wye since I met a little girl there in 1793. It would have given me great pleasure to have found in the neighbouring hamlets traces of one who had interested me so much, but it was impossible, as unfortunately I did not even know her name. The ruin, from its position and features, is a most impressive object. I could not but deeply regret that its solemnity was impaired by a fantastic new castle set up on a projection of the same ridge, as if to show how far modern art can go in surpassing all that could be done by antiquity and nature, by their united graces, remembrances, and associations. I could have almost wished for the power, so much did the contrast vex me, to blow away Sir Samuel Meyrick's impertinent structure and all the possessions it contained."

Wordsworth's strictures must not be taken to apply to the present mansion, which has been entirely re-modelled by Mr. Moffatt, and in excellent taste.

T. HUTCHINSON.

ANTIQUITIES OF LEOMINSTER.

By Harold Easton, Esq.

LEOMINSTER, now a town and a municipal borough of about six thousand inhabitants, is situate on the slope of a gentle hill taking its rise from the right bank of the river Lugg. It is familiarly known to the inhabitants as the "ancient borough"; and, indeed, has a right to that name, for it was founded "at a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Apparently it did not exist at the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, for two or three miles to the west lies the great Roman road leading from Wroxeter in Shropshire—the Uriconium of the Itinerary of Antonine—to Gobanium, the modern Abergavenny; whilst to the east of the town, at a short distance away, in the parish of Stoke Prior, lie the remains of Blackwardine, once a Roman settlement, its name denoting that it was fired by the natives of Britain, like most other Roman settlements in this neighbourhood. In Leominster itself no traces of Roman occupation have ever been found. The native chieftain who destroyed Blackwardine on the withdrawal of the Roman soldiers towards the end of the seventh century was probably Merewald of West Mercia, whose stronghold was at Comfort Castle. This Comfort Castle was nothing but an enclosure with ramparts of earth, surmounted by a wooden stockade. It was situated on Eaton Hill, overlooking the present town—a favourite position in early times for such strongholds. Around the castle sprang up

Leominster Church.

the dwellings of the earliest inhabitants of Leominster, some drawn thither by the protection afforded by the presence of the great chieftains, others doubtless placed there as vassals.

In this manner the first foundations of Leominster were laid in the latter part of the seventh century, and to Merewald's choice of Comfort Castle as his abode its existence is due. We can, therefore, safely assume that the ancient borough of Leominster has some twelve centuries of age as a warranty for its familiar name.

Of this Comfort Castle, Leland, one of the heralds who lived in the reign of King Henry VIII., wrote that "there be now some tokens of ditches where buildings have been; the people of Lemster and thereabouts come once a year to this place to sport and play." In this custom we see the relic of some annual gathering of the people at the chieftain's castle, perhaps to receive his commands, or to pay their tribute, or may be the survival of some ancient fair or market held under the protection of the Castle Walls.

Merewald, according to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, founded in the year 658 a monastery for religious virgins at Leominster, and endowed it with all the lands about the town. This establishment was undoubtedly in existence in the first year of Edward the Confessor, that is, 1042, for an early record states that about that year one Sweyn, the Earl of Hereford, eldest son of Edwin, Earl of Kent, inveigled Edgiva, the Abbess of Leominster, from the nunnery, for which act he was banished from the country.

Around the derivation of the town's name a considerable controversy has arisen. Many and ingenious have been the explanations put forward; but out of these two emerge as having most to be said in their behalf. The first is the obvious one that the name means the Minster or Church of the Lion. It has the warranty of great age to support it. How the Church and from it the town obtained the name is a well-known story. According

to Leland, Ealfrid, a priest of Northumbria, coming to the Court of Merewald, footsore, faint, and weary, in the evening, sat down, and taking bread out of his wallet, ate it. While in the act of eating, a lion appeared, who, on his offering him bread, mildly took it from his hand. The lion, says Leland, was typical of Merewald, who, on the teaching of Ealfrid, from a fierce pagan became a mild and forbearing Christian.

The builders of the Norman portion of the Priory Church, erected in the twelfth century, knew and apparently desired to spread a belief in this origin of the name, for on the portals of the great west door we see carved in the stone work, amongst other curious devices, the figure of a lion.

Some writers have thought it necessary to reject this origin of the name on the ground that lions did not exist in England. But this seems to be a misapprehension of a purely allegorical legend. The lion was not a wild beast of prey, but the lion of heathenism, overcome by the teaching of the Christian monks. Possibly the monks may have invented this charming little story in order to explain a name which the town already possessed.

The other explanation is derived from Domesday Book. In that famous survey it is spelt Leofminstre, and this is the earliest writing which gives us any spelling of the name. Blount, a celebrated antiquary, suggests that this means the Minster of Leof, the usual contraction for Leofric. Leofric was Earl of Mercia, of which this county was part; and Leland, whom we have already quoted, hints that Leofric either built or was a benefactor to the church a little before the Conquest. William of Malmesbury, a very early writer, says this Leofric was in the beginning of Edward the Confessor's reign styled Earl of the Herefordshire men, and died in the thirteenth year of that King's reign, 1055. His wife was the Lady Godiva of Coventry renown.

The Lordship of Leominster at the time of Domesday

Survey was of considerable dimensions, consisting as it did of Leominster, with its sixteen members, Luston, Yarpole, Aymestrey, Brimfield, Aston, Stockton, Stoke, Marston, Upton, Hope, Brierly, Ivington, Cholstrey, Leinthall, Edwin Ralph, and Farlow. These names are considered the modern equivalents of the places mentioned in Domesday Book. In the time of Edward the Confessor the Lordship was much more extensive, for the compilers of Domesday Book tell us that the two manors of Stamford and Merchelai were annexed to it, and also lands at the following places: Hatfield, Wapleton, Butterley, Fencote, Hampton (two Hamptons are mentioned, probably Hampton Richard and Hampton Mappenor, now included in what is known as Hampton Court), Sarnesfield, Gattertop, Wigmore with its Castle, Bromfield, Ferne, Bradfield, Eaton, Risbury, Wharton, Newton, Dishley, Bradford, Hamnish, Middleton, Luntley, and Alac. Leominster then as now was an agricultural district with a sparse population. In the time of Edward the Confessor, Domesday tells us, there were eight prepositi, eight beadles, eight red knights, two hundred and thirty-eight villeins, seventy-five bordars, and fourscore and two men and women servants—a total of four hundred and nineteen souls. By the time of the Survey the total of four hundred and nineteen souls of the time of Edward the Confessor was reduced to three hundred and fifty-six—a very considerable percentage for so small a population, and doubtless owing to "the tragedy of the Saxon overthrow." The account of Leominster in Domesday Book ends with a list of persons holding lands attached to the lordship in the time of Edward the Confessor, with the extent and value of their holdings.

Amongst the names we find several familiar ones, such as Osbern, the son of Richard—the Richard who built Richard's Castle; Roger de Lacey, the father of Walter de Lacey, who built St. Peter's Church at Hereford, and whose family has given a name to the parishes

of Stanton Lacey in Shropshire and Mansell Lacy in Herefordshire; and Ralph de Mortimer, of Wigmore Castle, the founder of a family destined to play a very prominent part, not merely in the history of Herefordshire, but in the history of England. The tenants of the lordship paid rents both in money and kind, the latter including such diverse articles as salt, honey, and fish. An ærie of hawks was maintained in the woods. These woods, we are told, were six leagues long and three leagues broad. The king's justiciaries sum up pithily as follows:—"The return from the whole besides eels is £23 2*s.* 0*d.* The manor is farmed out for £60 besides the victualling of the nuns, but it could be increased to £120 according to the opinion of the county authorities summoned before them." The reference to the nuns is presumably to the monastery for religious virgins founded, as before stated, by Merewald.

At the time of Domesday Book, and for some years subsequently, Leominster was a town on royal demesne, *i.e.*, it was the property of the monarch, and then, as now, to be the property of the king was a privilege of considerable value to the inhabitants. But the privilege and position did not last long, for on June 18th, 1121, Henry I. founded the great abbey at Reading, and by a charter dated 1125 gave Leominster and its dependencies as a part of its endowments. According to the foundation charter, the King's object was "for the salvation of my soul, and of King William, my father, and of King William, my brother, and of William, my son, and Queen Matilda, my mother, and Queen Matilda, my wife, and of all my ancestors and successors." The William the son was the prince who set sail in the White Ship from Normandy, and was unhappily drowned.

Many curious rights and privileges were granted to the Abbot and his dependents under such strange terms as, *e.g.*, "soc and sac," "thol and theam," "infangtheof," "outfangtheof," and "hamsocna." The charter closes in a manner characteristic of the age, as follows:—

I (that is the King) grant and confirm for ever to this Monastery of Reading and to whatever belongs to it, these liberties and immunities which I commend in God's name to all Kings of England who shall reign after me to keep, so that God may preserve them for ever. If any person shall wittingly presume to infringe, diminish or alter this our decree, may the great Judge of all punish and root him out with his posterity, so that he may be left without inheritance in misery and hunger; but whosoever shall preserve the above-mentioned liberties and possessions to the Monastery of Reading, may the Most High who ruleth over the Kingdom of men, confirm to him all good things and preserve him for ever.

Notwithstanding this terrible fulmination, the abbey and its possessions shared the fate of other like institutions in the reign of King Henry VIII., the last abbot being hanged at the gate of Reading Abbey.

The abbot ruled the town and its dependencies for four centuries. Affairs connected with the town, however, were delegated to a body consisting of twenty-four capital burgesses elected from time to time by their fellow-burgesses. A bailiff and also an assistant-bailiff were appointed by the Prior of Leominster, representing the Abbot of Reading, to preside over their deliberations.

Subsequent monarchs granted many additional privileges through the Abbot to the borough of Leominster. In particular it may be mentioned that Edward I. gave a seal to the borough, and summoned two burgesses to Parliament. The seal of the present corporation bears the same device as that originally granted by Edward.

After the dissolution of the monastery of Reading the borough and vill of Leominster fell into the hands of King Henry VIII., and Leominster was placed under the jurisdiction of the Lord President and Council of the Marches sitting at Ludlow Castle. This change in the fortunes of Leominster was not, however, to last long, for on the 28th May, in the first year of her reign, 1553, Queen Mary granted the first charter to the Corporation. This charter hangs in the Council Chamber at Leominster, and after a lapse of three hundred and fifty years is still a magnificent specimen of the penman's art. It commences

in the usual courteous form customary in such documents: "To all to whom these presents shall come Mary by the Grace of God of England France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith, sendeth greeting," and continues: "The Borough of Leomynster otherwise Leompster in the County of Hereford is an Ancient Borough and formerly was part of the possessions of the Priory of Leomynster otherwise Leompster in the same County which was a Convent annexed to the late Monastery of Reading in our County of Berks." The charter then goes on to enumerate the privileges and exemptions accorded to the burgesses, men, and inhabitants of the borough, and states that they had humbly besought the Queen that for the better government, management, and improvement of the said borough she would vouchsafe to make, create, and establish the inhabitants thereof one body corporate and politic.

The charter was a reward (so it states) to the inhabitants of Leominster for their assistance in suppressing the rebellion of the Duke of Northumberland, whose aim, it will be recollected, was to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne.

Many valuable privileges were either confirmed or granted for the first time by this charter to the borough of Leominster. The corporation was to consist of twenty-five capital burgesses, and the survivors were empowered to fill any vacancy caused by death, removal from the borough, or otherwise. At their meeting on the Monday after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel at the Forbury[1] Gate House, one of the more discreet and sufficient of their number was elected by them to fill the office of bailiff for the ensuing year. By virtue of his office, he became a Justice of the Peace for the borough. Humfrey Streete was the first bailiff, and named as such in the charter. They were also empowered to elect a

[1] There was a Forbury at Reading Abbey, and the name survives there.

Common Council, to consist of twenty-four inferior burgesses, but this privilege was never exercised. A Court of Record, with jurisdiction in debts and disputes up to £5, and a prison, were also conferred. The Bailiff and burgesses of the borough were empowered by their last wills to bequeath their tenements and acquisitions in the borough to any person or persons they pleased, thus anticipating a privilege subsequently granted to all persons. Two fairs, the Friday market day (still observed), and a Grammar School are amongst other privileges enumerated.

On June 8th, 1562, Queen Elizabeth confirmed the charter granted by Queen Mary. King James I. granted another charter, and by it conferred additional privileges, such as that the Bailiff, Steward, and Recorder of the borough should be Justices of the Peace. This charter also enlarged the jurisdiction of the Court of Record up to £40 in amount, and enabled it to be held any Monday. King Charles I. granted a charter to the borough. By this the office of Town Clerk was created, and the Bailiff and capital burgesses were empowered to elect two of their number to act as Justices of the Peace. The jurisdiction of the Court of Record was also increased up to £100, and a new fair was granted. A fresh privilege appears for the first time, viz., a Court of Pye Powder, from the French *pied poudré* (dusty feet), the name implying that it was a court constituted to hear and determine at once, without formal process of law, all disputes arising in the fairs held in the borough. Not twenty years elapsed before another charter was granted to the borough by Charles II. It introduced important changes into the constitution of the corporation. The number of capital burgesses was reduced to fifteen, and were henceforth to be called "The Common Council of the Borough." The Steward receives the title of Chief Steward, the first of such being "our much beloved and very faithful kinsman and counsellor, Henry, Duke of Beaufort." The present holder of this office is Mr. J. H. Arkwright, of Hampton

Court, who is also Lord Lieutenant of the County. The number of fairs was considerably increased, and they were also extended in length. The Assize of bread, wine, and ale, and all other vendible provisions, was granted to the new Council, and the Bailiff, by virtue of his office, became Coroner for the borough.

On March 10th, 1706, Queen Anne granted the last charter to the borough, and like the first it hangs in the Council Chamber. It confirms many of the ancient privileges, and grants an additional fair. This charter contains the first intimation that the fairs were not to be held on a Sunday. In past times they had been held on Sundays as on other days. With this charter the grant of privileges to the borough came to an end.

The record henceforth is one of gradual loss of such ancient privileges as the town possessed. In 1830 the Assize of bread was discontinued. In 1835 the borough Quarter Sessions ceased; the Bailiff's right to act as Coroner for the borough, the burgesses' exemption from the liability to serve on juries outside the borough ceased at the same time, as also did the right of the capital burgesses to appoint two Justices of the Peace for the borough. In 1846 the Court of Record followed; in 1867 one Member of Parliament was taken away; and in 1885 the borough ceased to have a separate Parliamentary representative. In 1888 the borough police also disappeared, and as a consequence the borough prison, so that to-day the borough seems shorn of all its ancient privileges, which, if they did nothing more, tended to give zest and add picturesqueness to the life of a small country town.

At the dissolution of the monastery of Reading the borough and manor of Leominster parted company. We have already traced the fortunes of the former, and now turn to see how the latter fared. Portions of the possessions formerly belonging to the Abbey of Reading were granted by Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth to private individuals, and some were granted by Queen Mary's

charter to the borough corporation. King James, in the third year of his reign, granted the manor, with all its rights, royalties, and appurtenances, to the Marquis of Buckingham in as full and ample a manner as theretofore enjoyed by the Abbot of Reading, on payment into the Exchequer of a yearly sum of £305 11*s.* 5*d.* When the Marquis had been eight years in possession of these manors he was murdered by Felton. Subsequently the manor formed part of the jointure of Queen Anne, the wife of King James. At the Restoration it appears to have been restored to the Duke of Buckingham. About 1662 the Duke sold very nearly all the copyhold estates held of the manor to the tenants or to other purchasers. After it had been thus mangled, the manor remained seven years in the Duke's hands, when Major Wildman, for an old debt the Duke owed him of £1,400, in 1675 took it, still liable to the rent of £305 11*s.* 5*d.* Major Wildman, having sold off some parts, disposed of the rest in 1692 to Lord Coningsby, the Lord Justice of Ireland, for £3,060.

From Lord Conyngsby the manor descended to Margaret, Countess of Conyngsby, his elder daughter, who married Sir Michael Newton, Bart., and died without issue. The manor then passed to his younger daughter, the wife of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams; they had two daughters, the elder of whom married the Earl of Essex, and his eldest son, Viscount Malden, succeeded to the manor. He sold it to Mr. Thomas Coleman, at whose death in 1826 it was sold to Mr. Arkwright, a son of Sir Richard Arkwright. Mr. John Hungerford Arkwright, a great-grandson of Sir Richard Arkwright, and Lord Lieutenant of the County, is the present owner.

The old town hall, erected in 1633 by John Abel, a celebrated Herefordshire architect, stood in the centre of the town up to the year 1853, when it was pulled down. Fortunately, owing to the public spirit of the late Mr. John Arkwright, its total destruction was avoided. He

bought it, and carefully removed it to a site adjoining the Grange, where it now stands converted into a private dwelling-house. Around the buildings are the following inscriptions:—

Where Justice Rule There Vertu Flow.
Vive ut post vivas. Sat Cito Si Sat Bene.
Like Collumnes Doo Upprop
The Frabrik of a Bwlding
So Noble Gentri Doo Support
The Honor of a Kingdom
In Memoriâ Aeternâ Erit Justus 1633.

The ancient ducking-stool, the property of the Corporation, but preserved in the church, is worthy of note, as also the halberd and maces of the Corporation. It is said the last occasion on which the ducking-stool was used was at Leominster in 1809. The Corporation records contain numerous references to it. The halberd was presented to the borough in 1618 by Sir Thomas Conyngsby, of Hampton Court, and the mace by Lord Conynsby, also of Hampton Court, on October 10th, 1723.

No record exists of the first establishment of the church of Leominster. The story, a very ancient one, of the coming of the priest of Northumbria, and his encounter with the lion, perhaps preserves a tradition of the introduction of Christianity into this part of England. Tanner says:—

Merewald, King of the Western part of Mercia, built a monastery here to the honour of St. Peter about A.D. 660, which being destroyed in the Danish wars, here was a College of Prebendaries and after an abbey of nuns, who were all dispersed and their lands possessed by laymen.

Leland hints that Leofric, the Earl of Mercia, either built or was a benefactor to the church a little before the Conquest. Domesday Book makes no mention of a priest being settled here in the time of Edward the Confessor, although at the date of the Survey there were six priests. Domesday also mentions the abbess as holding land both in the time of Edward the Confessor and at the time

of the Survey. The victualling of the nuns is also mentioned as being a charge on the manor. In 1121 Henry I. founded the great Abbey of Reading, and granted Leominster and its dependencies as a part of the endowment of that abbey. This charter mentions that the Abbey of Leominster had been destroyed previously "peccatis suis exigentibus." Leominster thus became a priory to that abbey, and the Norman part of the church now existing was doubtless the church built by the monks soon after the grant of King Henry's charter. There is, however, no record of the building, but Leland, who visited Leominster in Henry VIII.'s reign, says: "There is but one paroch Church in Leominster, but it is large, somewhat darke, and of ancient buildinge; insomuch that it is a grete lykelyhood that it is the Church that was somewhat afore the Conquest. The Church of the Priory was hard joyned to the east end of the Paroch Church and was but a small thinge." This evidently refers to the present Norman nave and north aisle, and perhaps, also, to the eastern apsidal chapels and transepts taken down soon after the dissolution of the monastery in Henry VIII.'s reign. The foundations of this part, excavated in 1853, are still to be seen, together with some curious stone coffins.

Tanner says that in A.D. 1536 Leominster Priory was endowed with the yearly revenue of £660 16*s.* 8*d.*, out of which there was paid to Reading and in other reprises to the value of £448 4*s.* 8*d.* The greater part of the site of the priory was granted (1 Mary) to the bailiffs and burgesses of the town.

Dugdale informs us that

Robert, Bishop of Hereford's, charter, granted soon after 1130, announces the consecration of the altar of the Holy Cross in the Church of Leominster with that dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene, Saint Margaret, and Saint Katherine.

Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford's, charter, about 1147, speaks of the tribulation and adversity at that time endured by the priory, holding out rewards to those who might become its benefactors.

Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, about 1198, ordered all plunderers and disturbers of the property of the priory of Leominster to be excommunicated; and to shew how necessary this was for the protection of those who were sent here from Reading, no fewer than six other charters, similar in words, from different Bishops of St. David's and Hereford, with one from Edward, Archbishop of Canterbury, occur in the Leominster Register.

The Church, which is dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, now consists of two parts—the ancient Norman church forming the nave and north aisle referred to by Leland, and the two naves and porch of the Decorated Period adjoining the Norman portion on the south. The south Norman aisle was taken down at a very early period and replaced by the large central decorated nave. Remains of this Norman aisle, including the clerestory windows, are still to be seen, whilst the arcades to the Norman nave are very fine examples of Norman work. Various details still remaining show that they were highly decorated in colours. On the north wall of the north aisle are to be seen the remains of a large fresco, said to depict St. Catherine. The two later naves of the Decorated Period have always been considered as the people's church; it is very doubtful if the people had access to the Norman portion, this being reserved for monastic use. At the west end of the Norman portion is an engaged tower, the lower portion being Norman Transitional work and the upper Decorated. The external doorway under the tower is a very fine example of late Norman work. At the south-west angle of the church is a fine early English porch, the only early English work remaining in that part of the church. This would seem to shew that the original parish church must have been as large as the present buildings. At the west end, between the nave and south aisle, stands a bell turret for one bell, containing a pre-Reformation bell. The church is also remarkable for the Ball Flower decoration of the series of windows in the south aisle and the west end. The large west window of the central nave is a handsome

specimen of a Perpendicular window, with buttresses supporting the mullions.

The chalice is a pre-Reformation one, and is considered one of the finest specimens in England. It is of mediæval pattern, about the year 1400.

Near the east end of the church still exist remains of the domestic buildings of the priory, now used as the Union Workhouse. There are several interesting examples of early English doorways and windows in these buildings, and the Pinsley, a small stream, is conducted under the building, and was doubtless the water supply for monastic use. In an adjoining field the fish ponds were situated, but they are now filled up.

The Forbury Chapel, situate near to the west end of the Priory Church, is a small building of Early English architecture, with a fine carved oak roof, bearing date 1659. This chapel, it is stated, was erected by Archbishop Peckham as a recognition of the hospitality received by him at Leominster Priory, he having been entertained there whilst on an embassy for Edward I. in connection with the subjection of Wales. As this mission took place in 1284, the chapel was doubtless erected soon after that time, Archbishop Peckham building it at his own cost, and dedicating it to St. Thomas á Becket of Canterbury. Since its separation from the Church in Henry VIII.'s time it has passed through many vicissitudes, being in succession a school, a theatre, and now a lawyer's office.[1]

HAROLD EASTON.

[1] The information as to the Priory Church was prepared in collaboration with Mr. Robert Clarke, Hereford, to whose assistance I am much indebted.

HEREFORDSHIRE BELLS.

By G. H. Phillott, Esq., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.

LITTLE is known of the founders of bells before the sixteenth century, for very few parish records of the fifteenth century exist to throw light on the subject. The only way, therefore, of ascertaining the history of bells before the sixteenth century is by a careful examination of their ornaments, stops, and other devices, especially shields. A very important phase of English history is incidentally connected with ancient bells, for in many cases the heaviest bells were taken away, either from cupidity or from self-styled religious zeal, during the spoliations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; indeed, the loss to English campanology by the ravages of both cannot be over-estimated.

Mediæval bells[1] were cast sometimes in monasteries and sometimes by secular clerics, *e.g.*, a bell at Scalten, Yorkshire (removed there in 1146 by order of Abbot Roger from Byland Abbey), was cast by John, Archbishop of Graf, whose name appears on it as the founder; and Sir William Corvehille (died 1546), "Priest of the Service of Our Lady," was "a good bell-founder and maker of frames." The prefix "Sir" was often accorded parish priests as a courtesy title up to the date of the Reformation.

We possess but little information about the ancient mode of casting and tuning; probably it was not very

[1] The author is indebted to the Rev. W. C. Lukis for much general information contained in his valuable *Account of Church Bells.*

different in essential particulars from the principles followed at the present day. Tuning is effected, first (to sharpen the note), by taking off the edge of the mouth of the bell, *i.e.*, by reducing its height; secondly (to flatten the note), by reducing the thickness at the "sound-bow," or thickest part, where the clapper strikes. In modern times, as seems natural to suppose, this is generally effected by means of a machine, and now always ought to be so. In former days, the object was achieved by means of the "chipping hammer," which treatment is even yet employed by some few bell-hangers. It is not, of course, so effective or neat a way of going to work, but to save the expense of sending a bell to the foundry when found to be out of tune, this method of tuning is occasionally adopted still.

The legend goes that there were itinerant bell-founders in mediæval times, and it seems also fairly certain that many bells were cast in the churchyards or somewhere near the church towers. These old founders must have possessed a great amount of skill, inasmuch as there remain many of their productions which modern founders, with all their scientific appliances, cannot surpass. We venture, none the less, to affirm it a mistake to suppose that *all* old bells are good; they are not; and there exist a vast number of modern or comparatively modern bells whose tone is magnificent, and whose casting reflects the greatest credit on the art of the bell-founder.

Bells were originally pulled by a piece of wood fixed at right angles to the stock, as is done now in some foreign churches. After that came the "half wheel," which held its own up to probably about 1677, some examples being even still existent. Simultaneously with the introduction of change ringing, the "whole wheel" was adopted, and with little variation in principle the same arrangement is used at the present time. We may remark that modern treatises on bells deal mostly with change ringing, than which no finer exercise or more interesting

and harmless amusement exists, one also well worthy of being taken up by gentlemen, inasmuch as it operates as a means for bringing different classes together. Moreover, to ring changes properly, a man must keep absolutely sober, and to become an accomplished ringer a very considerable amount of study is required, in addition to dogged perseverance.

There are two peals of ten in the County, several of eight, and many of five and six, besides rings of three and four. The two peals of ten are at the Cathedral and Leominster. A number of old bells survive in the County, the most ancient, probably, being one at Brinsop, believed to be of the date of Edward II., inasmuch as it bears his visage, with the twisted beard—a characteristic stamp. Others survive, with defaced labels, at Stoke Lacey and Thornbury.

Being so near the celebrated foundry of the Rudhalls of Gloucester, it is not surprising that many of the Herefordshire bells came from thence. Another and very excellent bell-founder supplied bells to Herefordshire towers, viz., William Evans, of Chepstow, who was, so it is said, at one time a foreman for the Rudhalls. This is very likely to be true, and his bells are certainly similar to Rudhalls' in shape, and of the eighteenth century in date.

The wooden frames supporting the bells are often interesting as affording examples of old oak carpentry. Here and there the beams of ancient bell-frames have evidently been used before, either for a former set of bells or for some other purpose, and from the fact that one sometimes finds *moulded* timbers, the writer is inclined to the belief that these may possibly have done duty in their day as part of a rood screen or of some other ecclesiastical work.

Inscriptions on Herefordshire bells, as on others, prior to the seventeenth century are mostly in Latin, and of a religious character, a common one being "Ave Maria

gratia plena, Dominus Tecum," or "Ora pro nobis." Occasionally only "Ave Maria gratia plena" is found. Then "Rosa pulsata mundi Maria vocata" is another common mediæval inscription. The later inscriptions were of a different character, "Peace and good neighbourhood," "Prosperity to this Parish," "Come, let us ring for Church and King," "Come at my call, and serve God all," "I to the Church the living call, and to the grave do summon all," being very common ones.

Bells were naturally often presented to church towers by private individuals, and in such cases one very frequently finds the name of the donor and the date of the gift. Bells, too, in many towers have the names of churchwardens, clergymen, etc., inscribed on them, by which, as Mr. Lukis, in his book on church bells, says, "points of pedigree may in some cases be established."

Ringing a muffled peal on Innocents' Day, which usually occurs in Herefordshire, is not peculiar to the County, though supposed to be so, but the ringing of so-called "chants" *is* so. It consists in *ringing* (not *chiming*) a sort of rude tune on the bells, these tunes being designated by names, such as "The Shepherd's Hey" (or Hay, or Haze), "Tom o' Lincoln," etc., etc.

Much of the ornamentation of mediæval bells is of a delicate and highly artistic character, while the piety and reverence of the Church of that period was exhibited in the inscriptions upon them. Nothing could be more beautifully suggestive than the "Ego sum Gabriel" of a cathedral tenor bell that found its way into the melting-pot, in spite of the protests of the Press, about half a century ago. As a piece of vandalism and insensibility it finds a parallel in the wanton demolition of the glorious "Guesten Hall" at Worcester by the utilitarian Dean Peel, in order to obtain a view from his drawing-room window. To such wreckers, more insensate than brutal Thomas Cromwell of the Reformation, or the fanatics

of the Commonwealth period, the satiric line, "Quod non potuerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini," applies with incisive force; and if ancient architecture has suffered from James Wyatts and other "Gothic" (?) restorers, the belfry has often been bereft of priceless gems. We have already alluded to the two and opposite classes of inscriptions on bells of the County, but have to confess ignorance of the pious inscriptions which, when the bells were re-cast, were supplanted by others of a more roystering character. To quote *in extenso* the inscriptions on all bells in all Herefordshire churches would be to cover the ground of a volume. It may, nevertheless, be alike interesting and instructive to mention those of the chief churches of the Shire.

First and foremost, the Cathedral. This is by far the heaviest peal in the County. The treble bell was re-cast by Mears & Stainbank, and the whole peal re-hung in 1892. Previously, *i.e.*, in 1865, the peal had been re-hung, having been silent for some twenty-five years. Here, as elsewhere, the original peal may have consisted of a few large bells. They were augmented, until in 1697 the peal was raised to ten. The inscriptions prior to that date, when some bells were re-cast, were as follows:—

1. Sum rosa pulsata mundi Katerina vocata.
2. Laudate Deo in Simbalis Sonoris, 1622.
   I.P. God send me to sing. Gulielmus Stephanus me fecit.
3. Soli Deo imortali (*sic*) sit Gloria.
4. Gloria Deo in excelsis.
5. Gulielmus Warwike construxit me in Sanctæ Trinitatis honorem.
6. Sancte Cuthberte, ora pro nobis.

When the peal was re-cast and re-hung in 1865, this fact, with the founder's and hanger's names, was added to bell No. 1, which then became No. 5, and of the four previously-added bells, No. 1 bore the legend, "We were made 10 in 1697"; No. 2, "God prosper this church and all its members, 1698"; No. 3, "T. Wooton, T. Rogers, W. Watts, A. Oakley, R. Bulkeley, Canons, 1697"; and No. 4, "God prosper the Church of England. A. R.,

1697"—"A. R." being Abraham Rudhall, of Gloucester, the bell-founder. Again, in lieu of "Laudate," etc., we have "Stephanus Banastre me fecit," and in lieu of "Soli Deo," etc., "Let us ring prosperity to the Church of England. A. R., 1697"; while "Gloria Deo," etc., was replaced by "Johannis Tyler Decanus Herefordiensis. A. R., 1697." The sum total of these improvements (?) on ancient piety leaves only the tenor bell, with its invocation of St. Cuthbert, untouched. Possibly the Saint would have fared as badly, but that the bell happened to be too pure in tone to need the attentions of Mr. Abraham Rudhall. The note of that fine bell is C sharp. The diameter at the mouth is four feet eleven inches; and its date, if we may judge from the lettering of the inscription, cannot be later than the fifteenth century. No. 9—No. 5 of the original peal—is supposed to be of pre-Reformation date, but, thanks to Mr. Warwike's self-advertisement, might well be relegated to a rather later period.

The Edward II. bell in Brinsop Church must be allowed the palm of antiquity before others in the Shire, but next to the Cathedral the Ross peal deserves especial mention. The legend goes that all the peal was re-cast in 1761, two inscriptions being reproduced. They run as follows:—

Treble. Sum rosa et pulsata mundi.
2. Materiam juvenes vocum Tribuere puellæ. 1761.
3. Prosperity to all benefactors of Churches and Bells. 1761.
4. God save the Town of Ross, and all good friends to us. 1761.
5. God save the King.
6. We are all cast at Gloster by the Rudhalls. 1761.
7. James Wellington and Thomas Thomas Churchwardens. 1761.
8. John Kyrle of Ross Esqre gave this Bell A.D. 1695. Re-cast in 1761.

Whether the treble bell was re-cast with the others appears somewhat uncertain.

The inscriptions on the Ledbury peal are very much of a post-Reformation character, that of No. 3 offering

an unique example of Erastianism under the semblance of loyalty:—

1. Thomas Cocks of Castleditch Esqre. 1690.
2. William Winter of Dimock Esq. 1690.
3. God save Queen and Church. 1706. Richard Stone Churchwarden.
4 Prosperity to this Town. A.R. 1723.
5. Rev: George Watts, Vicar, Timothy Spencer, Churchwarden. We praise Thee, O God. Mears of London fecit, 1817.
6. A B R A. R U D. Hall. Made us eight in the year 1600.
7. J. H. Ch. W. P. Prosper they to this place. A.R. 1699.
8. Tenor. Let Love and Peace in you abound when you hear my harmonious sound.

A.R. 1736. JOHN GEORGE, THOS. BOSEVAN } *Churchwardens.*

It may be safely affirmed that these were not the auturgic bells which caused the saintly Catherine to pitch her tent at Ledbury. We may remark here the longevity of the Rudhall firm. It appears to have lasted about two centuries, and only at the last to have lacked an Abraham as senior partner.

The Leominster fine peal of ten bells—earlier, eight—in 1755 was re-cast by Evans, of Chepstow. *Dolus latet* in that apparently innocent word "re-cast." Translated into truth, it signifies that the ancient labels or inscriptions were dismissed as papistical, and lost in the melting-pot, to the lasting injury of Leominster. This precious iconoclasm, so a tablet in the belfry records, was performed at the expense of the parish. Probably some Archdeacon Vandal sanctioned a rate, and thus the town, at its own cost and charges, was purged of so many ancient memories. The names of Somersett, Watts, and Robert Beddoes adorn these rejuvenated bells of 1755, and in 1894 two were added, the legend, "Fear God; honour the Queen," being appended to the second bell. The sentiment here expressed is Biblical and didactic, but as regards campanology utterly wide of the mark.

Among parish churches, Staunton-on-Wye boasts a strong peal of six, the whole apparently cast by Evans,

of Chepstow, in 1763. Their inscriptions may be deemed suggestive of the period, *e.g.*:—

Treble. Come let us ring for Church and King. W. E. 1763.
2. Prosperity to this Parish. W. E. 1763.
3. Peace and good neighbourhood. W. E. 1763.
4. We were all cast by Wm. Evans at Chepstow. 1763.
5. Mr. Mansell Powell, Mr. Geo Harries Churchwardens. W. E. 1763.
Tenor. Let my sound move thee to God's glory. W. E. 1763.

This peal, one of the best in the Shire, the late Vicar, Canon Phillott, caused to be re-hung by Messrs. White, of Appleton, Berks., who rendered the same service to the Cathedral peal. The tenor is an exceptionally fine-toned bell in the key of G, weighing about thirteen hundredweights, and Evans, its founder, cast some among the famous bells of Exeter Cathedral. Upton Bishop likewise owns a peal of six, the treble bearing for inscription: "In memory of Frances Ridley Havergal, who died June 3, 1879. F. T. H., Vicar." The remaining bells perpetuate the name of J. Rudhall, 1811.

In 1555 the Church Commissioners reported that Weston-under-Penyard had four bells. The peal at present is six. At Woolhope the peal is adorned by a mediæval label on the fourth bell, viz., "Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis"; and of the remaining five, the second gives the date 1649—the Commonwealth period!—and the fifth 1662. In 1553, according to the Commissioners' return, the peal consisted of five bells. Norton Canon peal of six has just been re-opened. The original founder, 1769, was T. Rudhall, and the inscriptions are as platitudinous as those of that date generally, the tenor bearing that of "Come at my call. Serve God all"—a reputable invitatory.

Dilwyn and Kington each boast a peal of six bells. In the former we have a repetition of what may be termed, *par excellence*, the Rudhall inscriptions. All except the tenor were cast by him in 1733. This latter bears the

legend, "To the church the living call, and to the grave do summon all." It may be of earlier date. Kington is even more commonplace. With the exception of No. 1 which was cast by Evans of Chepstow in 1764, all were cast by Rudhall, and while No. 3 bears the date 1739, the other four are dated 1736.

The Weobley peal consists of six bells and of different dates, *e.g.*:—

(1) A. R. 1738. The gift of Mansel Powell Esqre.
(2) I. Mears of Gloucester & London fecit 1838.
(3) God save His Church. 1605.
(4) . . . ce (Peace) and good neighbourhood. God save our Queen. Ann. 17 . . . Isaac Hadley made me.
(5) Be it known to all that doth me se (*sic*)
John Martin of Wossister made me.
William Saise . Thomas White . C.W. 1657.
(6) All men that heare my roing sound
Repent before ye ly (*sic*) in ground. 1657.

It will be noted that the two last were set up during the Protectorate. "Roing" is possibly intended to represent "rowing," *i.e.*, making a row—a sentiment which, if quaintly expressed, possesses the merit of piety. John Bunyan, it may be remembered, attributes the sins and offences of his youth to connection with the local belfry; and belfries up to within the memory of man combined the consumption of potent fluids with strong language and *immodicae super merum rixæ*. In order to correct these excesses, and thereby to ethicise the belfries, the following doggrel was placed in the Weobley belfry, and there remains as a useful reminder that a "bellfry" need not be a "hellfry":—

Rules and Regulations strictly to be observed by those who visit this room. Nov. 5, 1826.

None but ringers are permitted here
Who do not pay a shilling for beer,
Should aney (*sic*) ring with hat or spur [1]
Sixpence must pay before he stur (*sic*).

[1] Spur-money is of great antiquity. To this day choristers can claim largesse by ancient custom from any one entering a Cathedral spurred.

But should a stranger wish to ring
Sixpence must pay when he begin.
Should aney quarrel, swear, or fight,
A shilling each shall spend that night,
And those who wont these lines obey
Desired are to keep away,
For by these rules no other's meant
Than noise and bustles to prevent.

Well would it have been for the *morale* of church belfries if some such code had been enforced earlier. As things are, "noise and bustles" have given way to a laudable ambition for proficiency in change-ringing, so here as elsewhere, like the Homeric heroes, we may boast ourselves the superiors of our fathers.

G. H. PHILLOTT.

ANCIENT LEDBURY.

By the Editor and J. F. Parr, Esq.

THE Transatlantic visitor, with a mind stored, and very often luminously so, as to English associations, approaches Ledbury reverentially; not, perhaps, quite for the reasons that affect English tourists, *i.e.*, on account of the venerable story of so unique a township, but rather because Elizabeth Barrett Browning has consecrated the name and site by a genius alike feminine in respect of human sympathy and in breadth of vision rising far above the limitations of sex. Here that great gift was fostered; here developed to a rare maturity. Ledbury was her home: Ledbury with its timber houses, whose grace of outline and wealth of detail put modern architects to shame, for among them who can be said to be endowed with the imagination and constructive capacity of Jacobean John Abel? Ledbury with its old-world purview, its faithful witness to the glorious past of Mercia. In effect, that past appeals to us who have inherited so much of its beauties. It needs not a Herbert Spencer to teach how incalculably we are influenced by our environment. The soul nurtured among utilitarian surroundings and in an utilitarian atmosphere becomes insensibly blinded to all except the considerations of sheer utility. Equally with Elizabeth Barrett Browning, albeit in a lesser degree, the inhabitants of so highly-favoured an old town should assimilate its spirit. Unhappily, just as many live and die indifferent to the glories of nature around them, so also people are to be found who positively prefer the graceless

Lord Biddulph's Jacobean Mansion, Ledbury.

commonplace of builder's residences to the superb masterpieces of Abel. Thus in the earlier years of the last century, great rejoicing occurred when the Butcher Row, like that of the same name at Hereford, fell a victim to an iconoclasm similar to that which caused the demolition of the city's Hotel de Ville. That the butchers slaughtered in their shops afforded no reason why the shops should have been destroyed. The one was as gross a violation of sentiment as the other.

Ledbury, in the days of the Roman occupation, lay, if not on, at all events near to, the great Roman trunk road between Magna Castra and Vigornia. There appears to have been a halting station on that courseway, and later, when Christianity was first introduced to Britain, a church became the nucleus of a small but growing township. Whether Ledbury derives its name from the brook on which it stands or the brook from the town, may be left to conjecture. Suffice it that its history commences with Domesday, where the name is Liedeberge. Shortly after we find its importance as a borough recognised by its returning two Members to Parliament. In the middle ages, when Leominster wool, *i.e.*, the product of the Shire, fetched a very high price, the town became the centre of a considerable clothing industry, and the fact of its having been adorned with a church of extensive proportions suggests the possession of opulence among its citizens. Here, also, the bishops erected a residence for themselves, a testimony indirectly to the importance of the place as well as to its ecclesiastical character. It may have been owing to episcopal favour and influence that the town's first market was held on *Easter Day*, 1135—other times, other manners! The Church, moreover, in the person of sainted Bishop Cantilupe, tried the experiment of vineyards somewhere in the vicinity, with what result history has not recorded. The manor had been attached to the See by the gift of Earl Edward prior to the Conquest, so the bishops were squires, and one of the customs of the manor

was that of "Borough English," *i.e.*, in cases of intestacy real estate descended to the youngest son.

Royalty from time to time cast its sunshine on the place. King John, for instance, favoured it with several visits, spending two days here in 1211, probably attracted by the charms of Malvern Chase, at the time one of the best preserves in the kingdom. Here, too, came as a prisoner the ill-starred second Edward, *en route* for Berkeley Castle; and also triumphant Edward IV. after the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, when the fall of the Red Rose was hailed as a victory for the Lollards and the new learning—rather prematurely, as the event proved. At that time Ledbury had attained a certain commercial importance, and Edward of York was a prime favourite with the trading classes, which may account in some degree for his visit. From him to the seventh of his name is a long interval, and for that reason Ledbury appreciated the more warmly the presence of the latter's good mother, when she honoured the present Lord Biddulph at his picturesque mansion on the fringe of the town—a many-gabled erection of brick and timber, dating from 1509, and almost without a rival among houses of that type.

One of the chief glories of Ledbury is the ancient Hospital of St. Katherine founded in 1232 by Bishop Folliott, and that the town was regarded as especially under her patronage may be inferred from a side chapel in the church having been dedicated to her. But the Catherine of Ledbury *par excellence*—though not as yet preconised by any Pope—was Lady Audley, around whose personality centres a legend which appealed to the sensibility of Wordsworth. This lady, who in sober prose happened to be one of the Audleys of Dilwyn, whence later Bishop Audley, according to one account was the pious superintendent of Bishop Folliott's almshouses. Her legend, however, reads more poetically. It appears that being of great piety, and much travelled withal, it was prophesied concerning her that she would never find a

home until she came to a place where the bells rang of their own accord. As she approached Ledbury, her attendant, Mabel, heard the bells ringing, and it transpired that this was without human hands. Accepting the portent as the fulfilment of her prophecy, the lady improvised a hermitage. Here, with her faithful Mabel, she lived; here she died in the odour of sanctity, the King, Edward II., providing her an annuity of £30; while a gorgeous tomb in the church of corresponding date is supposed to perpetuate her memory, which, however, may be the more eternal in consequence of Wordsworth's lines:—

> When human touch, as monkish books attest,
> Nor was applied, nor could be, Ledbury bells
> Broke forth in concert flung adown the dells
> And upward, high as Malvern's cloudy crest,
> Sweet tones, caught by a noble lady blest
> To rapture. Mabel listened at the side
> Of her loved mistress; soon the music died,
> And Catherine said, "Here I set up my rest."
> Warned in a dream, the wanderer long had sought
> A home, that by such miracle of sound
> Must be revealed. She heard it now, or felt
> The deep, deep joy of a confiding thought;
> And there a saintly anchoress she dwelt
> Till she exchanged for heaven that happy ground.

Her legend is further confirmed by a plot called Catherine's Acre, nigh whereunto is Mabel's Furlong. Happily the foundation of St. Catherine escaped the general wreckage of the Reformation, being confirmed to the Chapter of Hereford by Queen Bess. It has, however, undergone some modern modifications, and the beautiful chapel was desecrated, like hundreds of other sacred buildings, by Cromwell's troopers.

The mention of these fanatical vandals recalls the so-called Battle of Ledbury, when Prince Rupert and Massey contrived to shoot each other's horses. For once the Cavaliers had the mastery, but the skirmish raged fiercely in the streets—the marks of bullets still remain—

and the Parliamentarian general with difficulty effected a retreat in good order. In the whirligig of time, the two principal combatants on that deadly field were destined to meet in Holland, Massey, whose splendid defence of Gloucester has been considered as the turning-point of the fortunes of the King, having repented his share of the war, and as an exile from his native land seeking reconciliation with easy-going Charles II. Much good English blood was shed in Ledbury—the last, it is to be hoped, for all time.

We have reserved the grand old church as a *bonne bouche*. Dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, it may be the third to occupy the existing site. Excavations have revealed the remains of a building of Saxon work. Then the earlier portions of the existing edifice are Norman, while the larger part, as it now appears, dates from the golden or Decorated period of Church architecture—albeit, internally, are visible traces of Norman mixed with Perpendicular work. The vista looking eastwards, whether as regards elevation, space, or proportions, fully justifies the encomium of Mr. Pearson, R.A., who wrote thus: "For size alone, Ledbury claims an important place among the churches of this country." It was granted in 1384 the charter of a collegiate church, and in 1400 Henry IV. issued a licence to John, Bishop of Hereford, to erect a college for nine perpetual chaplains to serve its altars. Among its peculiarities, that of possessing a campanile with a spire rising above it deserves especial notice. There are in Herefordshire seven such campaniles or detached towers, viz., at Bosbury, Holmer, Garway, Pembridge, Richard's Castle, and Yarpole. The common assumption that these towers were border fortresses seems to be rather inexact, for Ledbury was not on the border, and Richard's Castle effectually protected the township and church which bore its name.

Among solecisms, that of a church being endowed with a brace of rectors—one clerical, the other lay—seems

difficult to account for; yet such is the arrangement at Ledbury. By ancient custom, the clerical Rector is held responsible for the repairs of the north, the lay rector for those of the south portion of the chancel. The crest of the roofing forms the dividing line, and within the memory of man an impasse arose owing to the clerical rector being desirous not only of repairing, but of restoring also, the chancel, while the lay rector demurred. Ultimately, the good sense of the latter caused him gracefully to retreat from an untenable position, inasmuch as a whitewashed ceiling—the *chef d'œuvre* of the pious vandalism of the eighteenth century—showed every symptom of bonneting both rectors as they occupied their seats of honour. To this happy agreement the church owes an unbroken view from west to east.

The registers of the parish teem with curiosities. From these we cull a few examples, *e.g.*:—

1583 Jane Badland being murthered by one William Farr of Eastnor was buried the 25th day of February, which said Farr was hanged on the gallows hill the 16th day of March following for the same fact.

1590. Anne Wells a poore, wanderinge woman being frozen to death on peese bridge in the grete snowe and cruele cold was buried Dec 16.

1593 Thomas Barber being an excommunicat p—son was put into a grave out of Christian burial, and was not buried the 7th day of Aprill.

1596. Aytton Capella (chapel). Jone Vove, a poore wandering woman diinge at Jack a Pleys (Jacob Leys) was buried 13th August.

1603. John Williams coreister drank himself deade at Wylliam Hamonds was buried 17th Novr.

1635 John Bide awhile (Query, Biddle?) was buried the 18 day of Aprill.

1687. Paid a distressed minister that preached in p'rsh church 0.3.6.

1690. In this year 5 bells were cast into eight.

1715. Pd for ringing for the news of Rowting the Rebels.

It should be added that besides Lord Biddulph's rectangular half-timber mansion, considered justly the cynosure of the old township, which gave shelter to Prince Rupert on the occasion of his victory, there are two mansions on the fringe of the town—the Upper Hall and Lower Hall—each with its own proper history. Perhaps

the most striking edifice is John Abel's timber town hall, resting, as did its counterpart at Hereford, on huge chestnut beams. We note, in passing, that the pitch of the roof is lower than that commonly found in Jacobean buildings, but the general effect fascinates the eye. A turreted building, somewhat of the same character, was erected a few years ago to the memory of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. That was well. Ledbury owed to itself some such recognition of the woman whose genius shed such lustre on her home; but had she been sainted by the Church or coronetted by the Crown, not one laurel more would have been added to her brow. "She being dead yet speaketh."

COMPTON READE AND J. F. PARR.

INDEX

Abbey Dore Church, 213.
———of Flaxley, 26.
———The last Abbot of Leominster hanged at the gate of Reading, 253.
———Wigmore, 123.
Abbeys of De Lyra and Cormeille in Normandy, 48.
Abbot Berno, founder of the Cluniac Order, 120.
Abel, John, Constructive capacity of, 272.
———Old town hall of Leominster erected by, 257.
———Tombstone of, 213.
"Acre, Dog," at Peterchurch, 161.
——— Legend confirmed by Catherine's 275.
"Admiral of the Seas from the Thames," &c., Richard Clitherow, 200.
"A Kemble Pipe," local custom of calling the parting smoke, 222.
Ale or *Currw*, Weobley, 204.
Alfrida, daughter of Offa, 23.
Algar (Alfgar), Earl of Chester, burns Hereford Cathedral, 5, 24, 98.
Almeley Castle, the symbol of strife, 202.
Ancient Grammar School at Weobley, 212.
———MSS. and printed books in Hereford Cathedral, 36.
———practice of "Sin-eating," 159.
———practice of "Sin-eating," Dr. Schuyler on, 159.
Anne of Bohemia, Marriage to King Richard II. of, 193.
———Queen, grants last charter of Leominster, 256.
Antoninus, Itinerary of, 58. —
Aquablanca, Bishop of Hereford, Monument to, 28.
Archbishop Arundel reads the sentence against Lord Cobham, 198.
———of Caerleon, 21.
———Peckham builds the Forbury Chapel, 261.
———Usher, 21.
Archdeacon of Brecon, Giraldus Cambrensis, 9, 116.
Archenfield, Rural Deanery of, 42.
Ariconium, Roman station at, 3, 59.
Arthur, coronation of King, 22.
———stone, a Druidic cromlech, 55.
Arundel, sentence against Lord Cobham read by Archbishop, 198.
Ashburnham, John, first Lord, 85.
Athelstan, Bishop, rebuilds Hereford Cathedral, 24.
Atlay, Bishop, Injunctions ratified by, 45.
Audley, Bishop, founder of a chantry chapel, 31.
———Edmund, Bishop of Hereford, 191.
———Legend of Catherine, Lady, 274.
———Nicholas, Lord, 190.
———James, Lord, slain at Bloreheath, 84.
Augustine of Canterbury, 21.
Augustine of Canterbury's meeting with the seven bishops, 22.
Auretone Castle, Anglo-Saxon *burh*, 69, 70.
Austin or Black Canons, The, 115.

Badenoch, John Comyn, Lord of, 141.
Baderon, Lord, of Monmouth and Goodrich, 140.
Bale, biographer of Sir John Oldcastle, 199.
"Bangor Use," 36.
Banishment of Earl Sweyn, 4.
Baskerville, Ralph, daughter of, 82.
———Sir Walter de, of Eardisley Castle, 171.
Basques of Spain or Iberians, 1.
Bath, Marquis of, 207, 211.

Battle of Ledbury, The so-called, 275.
———Mortimer's Cross, 11, 274.
Bayeux tapestry, 70.
Bear Inn at Weobley, The, 211.
Beauchamp, Walter de, Lord Marcher, 185.
Beauclerk, Lord James, Bishop, great catastrophe in the Episcopacy of, 33.
Beaufort, Henry Somerset, Duke of, 179, 255.
Beaumont, Sir George, celebrated landscape painter, 243.
Bede on the teaching of Bishop Putta, 23.
Bedeguars, a charm for toothache, 154.
Beere, Richard de la, 193.
———Kynardus de la, 193.
Bell in Brinsop Church, Edward II., 267.
Bennet, Dr., Bishop of Hereford, examines Father Cadwalladador, 217.
Berkeley Castle, Edward II. *en route* for, 274.
Berno, Abbot, founder of the Cluniac Order, 120.
Berington, John, of Cowarne Court, 92.
Biddulph's half-timber mansion at Ledbury, Lord, 277.
Birch, Colonel—
Breach in Goodrich Castle made by, 139.
Celebrated Parliamentarian General, 207.
In his home at Garnstone, 208.
Monument to, 208.
Member for Weobley, 210.
Restrains soldiers from firing at the Dean of Hereford, 32.
Second siege of Hereford under, 50.
———John, son of Rev. Thomas Birch, of Hampton Bishop, 210.
Bishop Barlow, of St. David's, 134.
———Croft, a possession of the family of Croft Castle, 32.
———Folliott, founder of St. Katherine's Hospital at Ledbury, 274.
Bishop of Hereford—
Canonization of Thomas de Cantilupe, 29.
Charles Booth, 31.
Cuthbert, early Saxon, 23.
Death at Eardisley Castle of Aquablanca, 28.
Bishop of Hereford—
Dr. Bennet examines Father Cadwalladador, 217.
Dr. Herbert Croft, 220.
Edmund Audley, founder of a chantry chapel, 31, 191.
Erection of altar screen by Bisse, 32.
Giles de Braose (or Bruce), 27.
Lord James Beauclerk, 33.
Monument to Aquablanca, 28.
Rebuilding of Hereford Cathedral by Athelstan, 24.
Robert de Bethune, 43, 118.
Completion of the College of Vicars Choral during the Episcopacy of Milling, 40.
Ethelstan, last Anglo-Saxon, 35.
Gilbert, Ffolliot, 25, 26.
Maidenstone, founder of the Diddlebury Vicarages, 48.
Reynelme, 43.
Confinement in Warwick Castle of Stanbury, 31.
Grant of Land from Stanbury, 40.
Richard Mayhew, first president of St. Mary Magdalen College, 31.
Robert of Maledon (or de Melun), 26.
Robert Lozinga (or de Lorraine), 24, 43.
Roll of household expenses of Swinfield, 236.
St. Thomas de Cantilupe, 163, 273.
Swinfield, and the famous Mappa Mundi, 30.
William de Vere, 27.
Bishop of Lichfield, Ceadda (or Chad), 42.
———of Lichfield, Rowland Lee, 132.
———of Lincoln, Remigius, dedicates Hereford Cathedral, 24.
———of Rochester, Putta, 22.
———of Treffawydd, 65.
———of Winchester, Henry, 25.
———of Worcester, Wulstan, 24.
Black Canons, Order of the Austin or, 115.
Blackcaerdun, a small Roman station, 62.
Blomfield, Designs for new building by Sir Arthur, 35.
Blount of Orleton, 213.
Blundell of Ince, Thomas Weld, 93
Bodnome, Roger, 238.

Bohemia, Marriage to King Richard II. of Anne of, 192.
———Wenceslaus, King of, 195.
Book, The Golden Grove, 89.
"Bosbury Carol, The," 164.
Bravinium, Roman station at, 59.
Brecon, Cambrensis Giraldus, Archdeacon of, 9, 116.
———Market house at, 213.
Bredwardine Castle, Vaughans of, 80.
Breydenbachii Peregrinatio, 36.
Brilliana, Lady Harley, celebrated, 15, 72.
Brinsop Church, Edward II. bell in, 267.
———Court, ancient Herefordshire mansion, 242.
Britannia Secunda, 57.
Bromwych, Sir John, donor to Almeley Church, 189.
Browning, home of Elizabeth Barrett, 272, 278.
Birt (or Brute), Walter, of Birtsmorton, 201.
Brydges, of Wilton Castle, Sir Giles, 179.
Brythonic Celts, 2.
Buckingham, Marquis of, grant of the manor of Leominster to, 257.
Buildings constructed on "crucks," 213.
Burford Castle, 6, 17.
Burghersh, Sir Bartholomew, 183.
Burghill of Burghill, John de, 175.
Burh, Anglo-Saxon, 70.
Burley, Sir John, friend of the poet Chaucer, 192.
Burlton, Vaughan of, 80.
Butcher Row at Ledbury, destruction of, 273.
Butts," Story of "Robin Hood's, 163.

Cadwallador, Father Roger, 216.
Caerleon, Archbishop of, 21.
———Dubricius' successor at, 22.
Cambrensis, Giraldus, Archdeacon of Brecon, 9, 116.
Canons, Austin or Black, 115.
———of Lyra and Cormeille, Minor, 46.
———Premonstratensians, or White, 115.
Canterbury, Dr. Davidson, Archbishop of, 37.
———Dr. Temple, Archbishop of, 36.
Cantilupe, St. Thomas de, Bishop of Hereford, 29, 163, 273.
———William de, Constable of Almeley Castle, 185.
Captain Scudamore, of Kentchurch, 220.
Caractacus, leader of the Celtic and Silurian host, 2.
———conquered by Ostorius, 54.
Caradoc, British warrior prince, 80.
Carbery, Vaughans, Earls of, 79.
Cardinal Vaughan, Herbert, 94.
"Carol, The Bosbury," 164.
Caroline Statutes of Hereford, The, 41.
Castle, Almeley, the symbol of strife, 202.
———Auretone, 69.
———Burford, 6, 17.
———Comfort, stronghold of Merewald, of West Mercia, 248.
———Eardisley, Death of Aquablanca at, 28.
———Berkeley, Edward II. *en route* for, 274.
———Garde Doloureuse, 76.
———Garnstone, 156.
———Hereford, 205.
———Pembridge, Captain Richard Kemble, of, 219.
———Kilpeck, 71.
———Ludlow, 72.
———Richard's, 6, 68, 276.
———Stepleton, 6, 17.
———Urishay, 67.
———Bredwardine, Vaughans, of, 80.
———Lulworth, Thomas Weld, of, 93.
———Weobley, garrisoned against King John, 206.
———Goodrith, Wordsworth's visits to, 246.
Castra adulterina, 73.
Catherine's Acre, Legend confirmed by, 275.
Cawkbridge, Vicarage of, 48.
Celts, Brythonic and Goidelic, 2.
Ceadda (or Chad), Bishop of Lichfield, 42.
Chandos, The princely, 18.
Charles I. at the Unicorn Inn, Weobley, 211.
Chase, King John at Malvern, 274.
Chaucer, the poet, pupil of, 199.
Chepstow, William Evans, of, bell-founder, 269.
Chester, Algar, Earl of, destroys Hereford Cathedral, 5, 24, 98.
Chesterfield, Earls of, 179.
Church, Edward II. bell in Brinsop, 267.
———Curious celebration at Hentland, 158.
———Abbey Dore, 213.

Church House, Laysters, Wordsworth's stone at, 244.
———Kenchester, Font in, 58.
———Ross, Beautiful spire of, 231.
———of St. Guthlac, in Hereford, 182.
———Weobley, Stained glass window in, 208.
Churchyard at Ipsden, Legend of the Devil's, 156.
Circutio, Roman road at, 61.
Cistercians (White monks), 116.
Clifford Priory, 120.
Clitherow, Richard, "Admiral of the Seas," 200.
Cluniacs (Black monks), 115.
Cobham, Disadvantages of Lord, 197.
———Eleanor, of Birtsmorton, afterwards Duchess of Gloucester, 200.
Coldbrook, Sir Richard Herbert, of, 83.
Coleridge, Anecdote of, 246.
Colidei, College of secular priests, called, 41.
College of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, First president of, 31.
———at Valladolid endowed by Sir F. Englefield, 217.
Common, Widemarsh, place of Kemble's execution, 222.
Constable of Gloucester seizes Hereford Cathedral, Milo, 25.
Constantia, Lady Dupplin and monument to the Man of Ross, 235.
Consuetudines, a record of ancient customs, 44.
Coningsby, Lord John, the Lord Justice of Ireland, 257.
Conyngsby, Sir Thomas, of Hampton Court, 258.
Cormeille and De Lyra, Abbeys in Normandy of, 48.
Cormeille and De Lyra, Minor Canons of, 46.
Cornewall, Sir George, in list of Edward's Commissioners, 12.
———Velters, local curiosity in verse, 165.
Cornewalls, the successors of the De Mortemers, 6.
Coronation of King Arthur, 22.
Corvehille, Sir William, "A good bell-founder and maker of frames," 262.
Cottingham, L. N., architect in restoration of Hereford Cathedral, 34.
Countess of Salisbury, Effigy of the, 89.
Court, Brinsop, ancient Herefordshire mansion, 242.
———Cowarne, John Berington, of, 92.
———Kentchurch, formerly Sancta Keyna, 168.
———Knill, 214.
———Luntley, in Dilwyn, 214.
———Orleton, 214.
———Walford, Walter Kyrle, Lord of, 223.
Courts of *pie poudre*, 107.
Courtfield, Vaughans of, 80.
Cowarne Court, John Berington, of, 92.
Croft, of Croft Castle, Sir James, 176.
———Dr. Herbert, Bishop of Hereford, 220.
———Sir Herbert Archer, of Lugwardine, 32.
Crophull, Sir John, Seigneur of Weobley Castle, 207.
Crown Inn at Weobley, 211.
Croyland, St. Guthlac's Monastery at, 23.
Cross, Battle of Mortimer's, 274.
"Crucks," Buildings constructed on, 213.
Culdees, The, 40.
Currw, Weobley ale or, 204.
Customs of the City of Hereford, 102.
Cuthbert, most distinguished early Saxon Bishop of Hereford, 23.
Cwm in Llanrothal, The, 220.
Cyder, preservation of Foxwhelp, 239.

Dansey, of Brinsop, in list of Edward's Commissioners, 12.
Davidson, Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, 37.
Dawes, Dean, his exertions in restoration of Hereford Cathedral, 34.
———Introduction of volunteer singers by, 45.
Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jonathan Swift, 147.
de Braose, or Bruce, Giles, Bishop of Hereford, 27.
———William, Lord Marcher, holds Weobley Castle against King John, 206, 208.
de Cantilupe, St. Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, 29, 163, 273.
De Clare, Richard, Earl of Pembroke, 140.
———Isabel, Countess of Pembroke, 141.
Decreta Gratiani, 36.

de Gamage, Matthew, Lord of Dilwyn, 207.
de Haldingham, Richard, designer of the Mappa Mundi, 30.
de Lacy, Roger, 205.
de Lacy, Walter, 206.
de Lacy, Walter, Death of, 207.
de Lorraine, or Lozinga, Robert, rebuilds Hereford Cathedral, 24.
de Lyra, Latin Bible and Commentary, by Nicholas, 36.
de Maledon, or de Melun, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, 26.
de Mortemer, of Richard's and Burford Castles, Earl of March, 6.
Despenser, Hugh, Lord, executed at Hereford, 184.
de Verdon, John, 207.
de Vere, William, Bishop of Hereford, 27.
Devereux, Sir Walter, 83, 207.
Devereux, Sir Walter, Effigy of, 208.
Devil's Churchyard at Ipsden, Legend of the, 156.
Dewi, or David, successor to Dubricius at Caerleon, 22.
Dilwyn, Luntley Court in, 214.
———Matthew de Gamage, Lord of, 207.
Dinedor, Holy well at, 161.
Dingley's "Monuments in Marble," 39.
Dinmore, Hospitallers' Preceptory at, 127.
Dr. Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 37.
Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, 36.
"Dog Acre" at Peterchurch, 161.
Domesday Book, 97.
Dubricius, Disciples of Saint, 3.
———Miraculous birth of, 21.
———Coronation of King Arthur by, 22.
———established college at Hentland, 22.
———succeeded at Caerleon by Dewi, or David, 22.
Duchess of Gloucester imprisoned for life in the Isle of Man, 200.
———of Norfolk, Frances Scudamore, 179.
Dugdale's "Monasticon," 49.
Duke of Beaufort, Henry Somerset, 179, 255.
———of Gloucester's enmity to Sir Simon Burley, 193.
Duke of Norfolk, Charles Howard, eleventh, 179.
Dupplin, Monument to the Man of Ross, erected by the piety of Constantia, Lady, 235.
Dyke, Offa's, 3, 205.

Ealfrid, a priest of Northumbria, Legend of, 250.
Eardisley Castle, imprisonment and death of Bishop Aquablanca at, 28, 69.
Earl Godwin harries the English, 5.
———Leofric, founder of Leominster, 4, 205.
———of Chester, Algar, destroys Hereford Cathedral, 5, 24, 98.
———of Essex, 257.
———of Hereford, William FitzOsborne (Fitz Osbern), 5, 68, 99, 100, 101, 135.
———of Hereford, Sweyn, and the Abbess of Leominster, 4, 249.
———of March, Edward Mortimer, 190.
———of Pembroke, William, 83.
———of Pembroke, William Marshall, 135.
———of Pembroke, William Herbert, 142.
———of Pembroke, Gilbert Strongbow, 140.
———of Pembroke, Richard De Clare, 140.
———of Salisbury, Richard Nevill, 84.
———of Stamford holds Hereford for Parliament, 112.
———of Stamford abandons Hereford, 143.
———of the West Saxons, Harold, 99.
Earls of Carbery, The Vaughans, 79.
———of Chesterfield, 179.
———of Lisburne, The Vaughans, 79.
Earthwork in St. Margaret, 55.
Edward the Confessor, Accession of, 67.
———II. bell in Brinsop Church, 267.
Edwin, grandson of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, 205.
Effigies of—
The Countess of Salisbury, 89.
Sir Walter Devereux, 208.
John Marbury, 208.
Agnes, wife of John Marbury, 208.
Egfrid, son of Offa, Premature death of, 23.
Eldon, Lord, celebrated Lord Chancellor, 210.

Elfgar, son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, 205.
Elizabethan Charter of 1583, 39.
Elizabethan Town Hall at Hereford, 214.
Englefield, Sir F., a refugee recusant, 217.
"Ereinwg," A petty form of government called, 53.
"Essays, Moral," Pope on Kyrle in his, 223, 229.
Escudemore, Sir Geoffrey de, 168.
Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, Offa's invitation to, 23.
———King of the East Angles, Murder of, 23, 96.
———Miraculous well of St., 23.
Ethelstan, the last Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Hereford, 35.
Evans, of Chepstow, William, bell-founder, 264.
Ewias, Priory of, 118, 119.

Fair Rosamund, 18, 77.
Fair of St. Denis, 109.
Falstaff, Sir John, 77.
Family of Pychard or Picard, 186.
Family of Scudamore, 167.
Fanhope, Cornewall of Stepleton and Burford Castles created Lord, 10.
Farm, Rhydycar, birthplace of John Kemble, 219.
Fasciculi Zizaniorum, 199.
Fasti Herefordenses, Havergal's, 51.
Father Roger Cadwallador, 216, 217.
Father John Kemble, 216, 219.
"Fferreys," or "Ferlys," District called, 53.
Ffolliot, Gilbert, consecrated Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, 25.
Fitz Norman, Hugh, 118.
FitzOsborne (Fitz-Osbern) William, Earl of Hereford, 5, 68, 99, 100, 101, 135.
Flanesford Priory, 144.
Flaxley Abbey, 26.
"Foley and Freedom," 210.
Foley, Thomas, of Stoke Edith, 210.
Folliott, Hospital of St. Katherine founded by Bishop, 274.
Font in Kenchester Church, 58.
Forbury Gate House, Meeting at the, 254.
Forest, Haywood, 107.
"Forestellum," 100.
Fox, George, founder of the Quakers, 202.
Foxwhelp Cyder, Preservation of, 239.
Frontinus, 4.
Furlong, Mabel's, Legend confirmed by, 275.

Garde Doloureuse, 76.
Gam, Sir David, 83.
Garnstone Castle, Legend of, 156.
Gasquet, Letter rescued from oblivion by Dr., 110.
Gate House, Meeting at the Forbury, 254.
"Gerarde's Herball," Passage from, 237.
Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, 260.
"Gier's Marsh" and its nectar, 20.
Glendower (Glendwr), Owen, descendant of Prince Llewellyn, 10, 75.
———Curious painting on wood of, 172.
———John o'Gwent, *alias* of, 173.
———Burial place of, 174.
Gloucester, Duchess of, imprisoned for life in the Isle of Man, 200.
———Duke of, his enmity to Sir Simon Burley, 193.
———Milo, Constable of, seizes Hereford Cathedral, 25.
Gobannium, Roman road at, 61.
Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor, 135.
Godiva, of Coventry renown, Lady, 4, 250.
Godwin, Earl, 5.
Goidelic Celts, 2.
Golden Grove Book, The, 89.
"Golden Legend, The," 36.
Goodrich Castle, Wordsworth's visits to, 246.
Goodrich, Viscount, created 1706, 144.
Grammar School at Weobley, Ancient, 212.
Grandimontane Order, The, 128.
Gregory, William, Member for Weobley, 209.
Gryffyth (Griffith), Prince of Wales, burns Hereford Cathedral, 24, 98.
"Guesten Hall," at Worcester, Demolition of, 265.
Gwent, John o', Tradition regarding, 173.
Gwilym ab Jenkin, 90.
Gwynne, Nell, 18.

Half-timber mansion at Ledbury, Lord Biddulph's, 277.
"Hall, Guesten," at Worcester, destruction of the, 265.

Hampton Court, grandest mansion of Herefordshire, 10, 17.
Harding, Stephen, originates order of Cistercians, 122.
Harford, Dr. Brigstocke, noted Parliamentarian, of Hereford, 13.
———Disappearance of brass to the memory of, 33.
Harley, Hon. Lady, celebrated defender of Brampton Bryon Castle, 15, 72.
Harold, Earl of the West Saxons, 99.
Harris, Renatus, Organ built by, 32.
Harrow School, Dr. Vaughan, formerly head-master of, 86.
Havergal, Frances Ridley, at Upton Bishop, 20.
———Inscription in memory of, 269.
Havergal's "Fasti Herefordenses," 51.
Haywood Forest, 107.
Hearne, Thomas, in his diary on the Man of Ross, 227.
"Heinfarum," 100.
Henry, Bishop of Winchester, 25.
Hentland College established by Dubricius, 22.
Hentland Church, Curious celebration at, 158.
"Herball, Gerarde's," Passage in, 237.
Herbert, of Coldbrook, Sir Richard, 83.
Herbert, Lord, 16.
Herberts, of Raglan, The, 219.
Hereford and Weobley Castles seized by Geoffrey Talbot, 205.
Hereford, Bishop of—
Canonization of Thomas de Cantilupe, 29.
Charles Booth, 31.
Completion of the College of Vicars Choral during Episcopacy of Milling, 40.
Confinement in Warwick Castle of Stanbury, 31.
Cuthbert, early Saxon, 23.
Death at Eardisley Castle of Aquablanca, 20.
Dr. Bennet, 217.
Dr. Herbert Croft, 220.
Edmund Audley, founder of a Chantry Chapel, 31, 190.
Erection of altar screen by Bisse, 32.
Ethelstan, last Anglo-Saxon, 35.
First president of St. Mary Magdalen College, Richard Mayhew, 31.
Founder of the Diddlebury Vicarages, Maidenstone, 48.
Hereford, Bishop of—
Gilbert Ffolliot, 25, 26.
Giles de Braose (or Bruce), 27.
Grant of land from Stanbury, 40.
Lord James Beauclerk, 33.
Monument to Aquablanca, 28.
Rebuilding of Hereford Cathedral by Athelstan, 24.
Reynelme, 43.
Robert de Bethune, 43, 118.
Robert Lozinga (or de Lorraine), 24, 43.
Robert of Maledon (or de Melun), 26.
St. Thomas de Cantilupe, 163, 273.
Swinfield and the famous Mappa Mundi, 30.
Swinfield, Roll of the household expenses of, 236.
William de Vere, 27.
Hereford, Caroline Statutes of, 41.
———Cathedral burned by Algar, 5.
———Customs of the city of, 102.
———Elizabethan Town Hall at, 214.
———Offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas of, 30.
———St. Francis Xavier's sacristy at, 222.
———see of, Heylin on the antiquity of the, 21.
———Lord of, Tudor Trevor, 80.
"Hereford Use," 36.
Herefordshire Pomona, Authorities quoted in, 236.
Hergest, Vaughan, of, 93.
Hergest, Sibyll Vaughan, of, 175.
Hertford, chivalry of Lord, 16.
"Hey, The Shepherd's," 265.
Heylin on antiquity of See of Hereford, 21.
Holgot, Philip, donor to advowson of Almeley, 190.
Holme Lacy, Palladian mansion of, 179.
———Priory at, 126.
"Holy Thorn," blooming of the, 158.
Holy well at Dinedor, 161.
Homme House, Much Marcle, Portrait of Colonel Kyrle at, 226.
"Hood's Butts, Robin," Story of, 163.
Hopton, Colonel Edward, loyalist, 14.
Hopton, Sir Richard, parliamentarian, 13.
Hoskyns, Bennet, sides with Parliament, 13.
Hospital at Ledbury, St. Katherine's, 27, 274.

Hospital of St. Ethelbert, 44.
Hospitallers' Preceptory at Dinmore, 127.
House, Meeting at the Forbury Gate, 254.
House, Wordsworth's stone at Layster's Church, 244.
Howard, Charles, eleventh Duke of Norfolk, 179.
Hugh, Lord Despenser executed at Hereford, 184.
Humphreston, Vaughan of, 80.
Huss, John, 195, 200.
Hutchinson, Sara, Southey's amanuensis, 244.

Iberians, or Basques, of Spain, 1.
Ince, Thomas Weld Blundell, of, 93.
"Incunabula," or fifteenth century printed books at Hereford Cathedral, 36.
Inn at Weobley, Charles I. at "The Unicorn," 211.
Inns at Weobley, "The Bear," "The Crown," 211.
Invitation of Offa to Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, 23.
Ipsden, Legend of the Devil's Churchyard at, 156.
Irby, William, Prior of St. Guthlac, 119.
Itinerary of Antoninus, 58.

Jebb, Dr., 45.
Jenkin, Gwilym ab, 90.
Jerome, 200.
John Kemble, Father, 216, 219.
John Kyrle, the Man of Ross, 223 to 235.
Julius Frontinus, Final subjugation of the Silures by, 57.

Kemble, Captain Richard, of Pembridge Castle, 219.
Kemble, Father John, 216, 219.
"Kemble Pipe," local custom of calling the parting smoke, A, 222.
Kenchester Church, Font in, 58, 95.
———Military centre at Magna Castra now, 57.
———Old Roman city at, 155.
Kentchurch Court, formerly Sancta Keyma, 168.
Kentchurch, Captain Scudamore, of, 220.
Kenulph, King of Mercia, 146.
Ketchmey, Sir Alexander, Lord of Troy and Bigsweir, 171.
Keyna, Sancta, afterwards called Penchirche, 168.
Kilpeck Castle, 71.
———Priory of, 118, 119.
King Arthur, Coronation of, 22.
———of Bohemia, Wenceslaus, 195.
———Merwald, First founding of monastery at Leominster by, 116.
———Stephen recaptures Hereford, 205.
Kington, Timber market house and Town Hall at, 213.
Knill Court, Old timber mansion of, 214.
Kyrle, Captain, holds Goodrich Castle, 142.
———Colonel, appointed Governor of Monmouth, 226.
———John, the Man of Ross, 223 to 235.
———Vandervort, Payment of an old debt to, 233.

Laburda super Clementenis, 36.
Lacy, Palladian mansion of Holme, 179.
———Roger de, military tenant at Almeley, 182.
———(Laci), Walter de, builds the Church of St. Peter, Hereford, 24, 117.
Lady Audley, Legend of, 274.
———Dupplin, Monument to the Man of Ross erected by Constantia, 235.
Landing of Maud in England, 205.
Langland, author of "Piers Ploughman," 9.
Latin Dictionary, "Panormia," or, 36.
Lay clerks, Appointment of, 45.
Laysters, Wordsworth's stone at Church House, 244.
Layton, Dr. Richard, misplaced eulogy on the Abbot of Glastonbury, 130.
Ledbury, So-called Battle of, 275.
———Katherine's Hospital at, 27, 274.
———Lord Biddulph's half-timber mansion at, 277.
———Record of purchases of the white wine of, 237.
———Timber market or Town Hall at, 214.
Lee, Rowland, Bishop of Lichfield, 132.
"Legend, The Golden," 36.
Legend, Confirmation of, 275, 279.
———of the Devil's Churchyard, Ipsden, 156.

Legend of Ealfrid, a priest of Northumbria, 250.
———of Garnstone, 156.
———of Lady Audley, 274.
Leland on the "King of Fayres Chayre," 155.
———visits Weobley Castle, 205.
Lenthall, Sir Rowland, at Agincourt, 10.
Leofric, Earl of Mercia, husband of Lady Godiva, 4, 250.
Leominster, Priory of, 119.
———sacked by Matthew de Gamage, 207.
———Timber market house at, 213.
Ley in Weobley, The, 214.
Lichfield, Ceadda or Chad, Bishop of, 42.
———Rowland Lee, Bishop of, 132.
Liedeberge, the Domesday name of Ledbury, 273.
Lincoln, Remigius, Bishop of, 24.
"Lincoln, Tom o'," Tune of, 265.
Lingen, Richard, 92.
———Sir Henry, attempts to recapture Hereford, 113.
———holds Goodrich Castle, 143.
———neighbour of and commander against Brilliana, Lady Harley, 16.
Lisburne, Vaughans, Earls of, 79.
Llangua, Priory of, 127.
Llangwym, in Monmouthshire, Cell of Lyra Abbey at, 49.
Llanrothal, The Cwm in, 220.
Llewellyn, Prince, ancestor of Owen Glendower, 10.
Local Curiosities in Verse—
"Velters Cornewall," 165.
Will of George Tomkins, 166.
Lord Biddulph's half-timber mansion at Ledbury, 277.
———of Hereford, Tudor Trevor, 80.
———of the Manor of Weobley, James Tomkins, 209.
———Marchers, List of the, 5, 6.
———Scudamore, Noble example of, 238.
———Weymouth, Lease of ground from, 230.
Lozinga (or de Lorraine), Robert, rebuilds Hereford Cathedral, 24, 43.
Ludlow Castle, 72.
Lulworth Castle, Thomas Weld, of, 93.
Luntley Court in Dilwyn, 214.
Lyra, de, and Cormeille, Abbeys in Normandy of, 48.
———Minor Canons of, 46.

Mabel's Furlong, Legend confirmed by, 275.
Maddox Formulare, 49.
Magna Castra, Romans at, 3, 95.
———(Kenchester), Roman military city, 57.
———Roman city at, 155.
Maidenstone, Bishop of Hereford, founder of the Diddlebury Vicarages, 48.
Malvern Chase, King John at, 274.
Mansion at Ledbury, Lord Biddulph's half-timber, 277.
Map, Walter, of Wormesley, 9.
———Charges against the Cistercians by, 122.
"Mappa Mundi" in Hereford Cathedral, 30.
Marbury, Effigies of John and Agnes, 208.
Marden, St. Ethelbert's miraculous well at, 23, 162.
Margam, Roman cross at, 55.
Mary, Queen, grants first charter to Leominster, 253.
Marquis of Bath, 207, 211.
———of Buckingham granted the Manor of Leominster, 257.
Massey, Colonel, advances upon Ross, 143.
Maud landing in England, 205.
Mayhew, Bishop Richard, first president of St. Mary Magdalen College, 31.
———Monument to, 31.
Menevia, See removed to, 22.
Mercia, Kenulph, King of, 146.
———Leofric, Earl of, 250.
———Offa, of, 95.
———Stronghold of Merewald, of West, 248.
Merewether, Devoted care and energy of Dean, 34, 44.
Merlymond, Sir Oliver de, seneschal to Lord Mortimer, 124.
Merwald, First founding of Monastery at Leominster by King, 116.
Mewes, Philip de, Preceptor of Garway, 127.
"Meyrick's impertinent structure, Sir Samuel," 247.
Milfred, a Mercian Viceroy under Egbert, 24.
Milling, Bishop of Hereford, 40.

Milo, Constable of Gloucester, seizes Hereford Cathedral, 25.
Minor Canons of Lyra and Cormeille, 46.
Monastery at Croyland, St. Guthlac's, 23.
Monasticon, Dugdale's, 49.
Monmouthshire, Cell of Lyra Abbey at Llangwm, 49.
Montchensy, Warine de, 141.
Monument to Bishop Aquablanca, 28.
———to Colonel Birch, 208.
———to Thomas de Cantilupe, 29.
———to Man of Ross, 235.
———to Bishop Mayhew, 31.
———to Sir Francis Russell, 242.
"Monuments in Marble," Dingley's, 39.
"Moral Essays on Kyrle," Pope's, 223, 229.
Mordiford, Combat between dragon and malefactor at, 162.
Moreiddig Warwyn, 81.
Mortimer's Cross, Battle of, 11, 274.
Mortimer, daughter of Edmund, 183.
———Edmund, Earl of March, 190.
———Lord Hugh, "Most glorious knight," 123.
———Ralph de, of Wigmore Castle, 252.
———Roger, supporter of the Earl of Lancaster, 187.
Much Marcle, Portrait of Colonel Kyrle at Homme House, 226.
Murray-Aynsley, Mrs., on Symbolism, 150.
Mynde, John Pye, of the, 91.
Mynors, Roger, of Treago, 175.

Nannau, Vaughan of, 80.
Neustria Pia, 49.
Nevill, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, 84.
Newton, Grave of Kemble at Welsh, 222.
Nicholas de Lyra, Latin Bible and Commentary by, 36.
"*Nonius Marcellus*," 36.
Norfolk, Charles Howard, eleventh Duke of, 179.
———Frances Scudamore, Duchess of, 179.
Northumbria, Legend of Ealfrid, a priest of, 250.
Notitia Monastica, Tanner's, 49.
"*Nuremburg Chronicle*," 36.

Oates, Titus, Feigned plots of, 220.
Occleve, a pupil of Chaucer, 199.
Offa's Dyke, dividing line between Mercia and Wales, 3, 205.
———of Mercia, 95.
Oldcastle, Catherine, marries Richard Clitherow, 200.
———Henry, son of Sir John, 200.
———Sir John, of Almeley Castle, 189.
———Lollard champion and martyr, 194, 199.
———Play called "The True History of," 199.
———Sir Thomas, 201.
Orleton, Blount of, 213.
———Court, old timber mansion, 214.
Old Roman city at Kenchester, 155.
Old timbered house owned by the Prichard family, 202.
Order, The Grandimontane, 128.
Ordovices, neighbours of the Silures, 54.
Osbern, styled Pentecost, 4.
Ostorius Scapula, Conquest of the Silures by, 4, 54.
Ouseley, Sir F., composer and pious founder, 20, 45.
Oxford, College of St. Mary Magdalen at, 31.
Oyster Hill, Ancient camp named, 54.

Packington, Heiress of Sir John, 176.
Panormia, or Latin Dictionary, 36.
Parry, Blanche, Queen Elizabeth's Nurse, 12.
Paulus Jovius, Doubts of, 21.
Peckham, Archbishop, builds the Forbury Chapel, 261.
Pembridge Castle, Captain Richard Kemble, of, 219.
———Sir William, 129.
———Timber market hall at, 214.
Pembroke, Richard de Clare, Earl of, 140.
———Gilbert, Strongbow, Earl of, 140.
———William, Earl of, 83.
———William Herbert, Earl of, 142.
———William Marshall, Earl of, 135.
Penison, William, Letter to Cromwell from, 130.
Pentecost, Osbern, styled, 4.
Pepys, Samuel, Charm given in his diary by, 153.
Peterchurch, "Dog Acre" at, 161.
———St. Peter's Well at, 162.
Philip Hayes, Vicarage of, 48.
Phillips, the "Water Poet," 20.
Phillott, Canon, Peal caused to be rehung by, 269.
Pie Poudre, Courts of, 107.
"Pipe, A Kemble," 222.

Play called "The True History of Sir John Oldcastle," 199.
Poet, Robert Waller, the, 224.
Poetic will of George Tomkins, 166.
Polycronycon, 36.
Pope's letter in reply to Jacob Tonson, 228.
———"Moral Essays" on Kyrle, 223, 229.
Porter, Heiress of Sir John, 178.
Posidonius, Greek explorer, 53.
Pomona, authorities quoted in Herefordshire, 236.
———Evelyn in his, 238.
Practice of "Sin-eating," 159.
———Dr. Schuyler on, 159.
Pralf, Mr., Rector of Tarrington, Butchery of, 16.
Preceptory at Dinmore, Hospitaller's, 127.
Premonstratensians, or White Canons, 115.
Preston Wynne, White wizard at, 149.
Prichard family, old timbered house owned by, 202.
Priest of Northumbria, Legend of Ealfrid, a, 250.
Prince Caradoc, 80.
———Rupert at Ledbury, 277.
———of Wales, Gryffyth, destroys Hereford Cathedral, 24.
Priory at Ewias Harold, 118, 119.
———of Clifford, 120.
———of Craswall, 128.
———of Flanesford, 144.
———at Holme Lacy, 126.
———of Kilpeck, 118, 119.
———of Llangua, 127.
———of Leominster, 119.
———of St. Guthlac, 116.
———of St. Katherine, 125.
———of Wormesley, 123, 181.
Ptolomori Geographia, 36.
Putta, Bishop of Rochester, translated to Hereford, 22.
Pychard, or Picard, family, 186.
Pye, of the Mynde, John, 91.
Pythias, eminent Greek mathematician and explorer, 52.

Quakers, George Fox, founder of the, 202.
Queen Anne grants last Charter to Leominster, 256.
———Mary grants first Charter to Leominster, 253.
———Quendreda, Murder of King Ethelbert by, 23.
Quillinan, Edward, a Lake poet, 244.

Raglan, The Herberts, of, 219.
Rawlinson, Description of College Library by Dr., 39.
Reade, Daughter of Sir Thomas, 242.
———Sir Compton, Bart., 33.
Reading Abbey, Last Abbot of Leominster hanged at the gate of, 253.
Rector of Tarrington, Butchery of Mr. Pralf, 16.
Reed, of Lugwardine, descendant of Carmarthen Rhudds, 13.
Reeves, Essay by Dr., 41.
Remegius, Bishop of Lincoln, 24.
Reynelme, Bishop of Hereford, 43.
Reynolds, James, royal metal melter in Herefordshire, 133.
Rhydycar Farm, birthplace of John Kemble, 219.
Rhys ab Gruffud ab Rhys ab Tewdwr, 82.
Richard de Haldingham, treasurer of Lincoln, 30.
Richard's Castle, 6, 68, 276.
Richard, son of Scrob, 4.
Robert Lozinga (or de Lorraine) rebuilds Hereford Cathedral, 24, 43.
Robert de Maledon (or de Melun), Bishop of Hereford, 26.
"Robin Hood's Butts," Story of, 163.
Robinson, Henry Crabb, visits Brinsop Court, 244.
Roger Cadwalladon, Father, 216.
Rohais, daughter of Gilbert Strongbow, 140.
Roman city at Kenchester, Old, 155.
Ross Church, Beautiful spire of, 231.
Row at Ledbury, Destruction of Butcher, 273.
Rudhall, Abraham, of Gloucester, bell-founder, 267.
Rudhalls, The, bellfounders, 264.
Rupert at Ledbury, Prince, 277.
Russell, Monument to Sir Francis, 242.
Russell, of Strensham, Sir William, 17.

St. Agnes, Vicarage of, 48.
"St. Augustine's Chair," 64.
St. Birinus at Ipsden, 156.
St. David's, Bishop Barlow, of, 134.
St. David's, Gervase, Bishop of, 260.
St. Denis, Fair of, 109.
St. Dunstan unifies England, 4.
St. Ethelbert, Hospital of, 44.
St. Ethelbert's Well, Miracle of, 23, 162.
St. Francis Xavier, Sacristy at Hereford of, 222.

St. Guthlac's monastery at Croyland, 23.
———Priory at Hereford, 116.
St. Katherine's Hospital at Ledbury, 27.
———Priory, 125.
St. Margaret, Earthwork in, 55.
St. Mary Magdalen College at Oxford, 31.
St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jonathan Swift, Dean of, 147.
St. Peter's Well at Peterchurch, 162.
St. Thomas de Cantilupe, 163.
St. Thomas of Hereford, Offerings at the shrine of, 30.
Salisbury, Effigy of the Countess of, 89.
———Richard Nevill, Earl of, 84.
Sancta Keyna, now Kentchurch Court, 168.
Savonarola, 200.
Saxons, Harold, Earl of the West, 99.
Scalten, Mediæval bell at, 262.
Scott, Mr. Oldrid, designs stone tracery for window, 37.
———Sir Gilbert, Restoration of north transept by, 35.
Scrob, Richard, son of, 4.
Scudamore family, The, 167.
———Barnabas, appointed Governor of Hereford, 112.
———Captain, of Kentchurch, 220.
———Frances, Duchess of Norfolk, 179.
———John, King's Receiver-General, 133.
———John, Viscount, 177.
———Noble example of Lord, 238.
———Rev. William E., greatest theologian of the nineteenth century, 180.
"Scudamore, Seint," 167.
Scudamore, Sir Alexander, 168.
———Sir John, 174.
———Sir Peter, 170.
———Sir Philip, 172.
———Sir Thomas, 170.
———Sir Walter, 169.
———Viscount, 13, 122.
Seigneur of Weobley Castle, Sir John Crophull, 207.
"Shepherd's Hey," The, 265.
Sibyll Vaughan, of Hargest, 175.
Silurist, Vaughan, the, 86.
"Sin-eating," Ancient practice of, 159.
———Dr. Schuyler on, 159.
Somerset, Henry, Duke of Beaufort, 179.
Southey's visit to Brinsop Court, 244.
Stained-glass window in Weobley Church, 208.
Stanford Court, Household roll preserved at, 30.
Stamford, Earl of, occupies Hereford for Parliament, 112.
———Earl of, abandons Hereford, 143.
Stanbury, Bishop, grant of land from, 40.
Stanbury, Bishop, taken prisoner at the battle of Northampton, 31.
Statutes of Hereford, Caroline, 41.
Stephen, King, recaptures Hereford, 205.
Stepleton Castle, 6, 17.
Strongbow, Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, 140.
Sweyn, Earl of Hereford, banished, 4, 249.
Swift, Jonathan, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, 147.
Swift, Rev. Thomas, Vicar of Goodrich, 142.
Swinfield, Bishop, and the famous Mappa Mundi, 30.
———Episcopal visit to Almeley of, 187.
———Roll of household expenses of, 236.
Swinderby, William, adherent of Sir John Oldcastle, 200.
Swynderby, William, pretending to be a priest, 194.
Symonds, The, successors of the Powells, 19.

Tacitus on the Herefordshire aborigines, 1.
Talbot, Geoffrey, 101.
———Geoffrey, seizes Hereford and Weobley Castles, 205.
———Geoffrey, shut up in Weobley Castle, 206.
———Geoffrey, escapes to France, 207.
———Gilbert, founder of Almeley Priory, 189.
———Baron, of Eccleswall Castle, 141.
———William, holds Hereford Castle against King Stephen, 72.
Talbots, of Richard's Castle, 6.
Tanner's "*Notitia Monastica*," 49.
Tapestry, Bayeux, 70.
Tarrington, Butchery of Mr. Pralf, Rector of, 16.
Taylor, Silas, explanation of east window, 146.
———the musical puritan, 13.
Temple, Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, 36.
Tewdwr, Rhys ab Gruffudd ab Rhys ab, 82.

"The Bosbury Carol," 164.
The Culdees, 40.
The Cwm in Llanrothal, 220.
The Devil's Churchyard at Ipsden, Legend of, 156.
"The Golden Legend," 36.
The Herberts of Raglan, 219.
"The Holy Thorn," Blooming of, 158.
The Ley in Weobley, 214.
The Rudhalls, bellfounders, 264.
The Scudamore family, 167.
"The Shepherd's Hey," 265.
"The True History of Sir John Oldcastle," Play called, 199.
Thomas de Cantilupe, Monument to Bishop, 29.
Throne Farm, The, 211, 212.
Thynne, Thomas, afterwards Viscount Weymouth, 207.
Timber Mansions, Ancient—
Knill Court, 214.
Luntley Court, in Dilwyn, 214.
Orleton Court, 214.
The Wythall in Ross, 214.
Timber Market Houses and Town Halls—
Brecon, 213.
Kington, 213.
Ledbury, 214.
Leominster, 213.
Pembridge, 214.
Weobley, 213.
Titus Oates, Feigned plots of, 220.
Tomkins, George, Poetic will of, 166.
———James, Lord of the Manor of Weobley, 209.
———Walter, member for Weobley, 209.
———William, member for Weobley, 209.
"Tom o' Lincoln," 265.
Tonson, Jacob, Assistance to Pope of, 227.
Town Hall at Hereford, Elizabethan, 214.
Traherne, the Cromwellian poet, 20.
Treffawydd, Bishop of, 65.
Tretower, Vaughans of, 84.
"True History of Sir John Oldcastle," Play called The, 199.
Tudor, Trevor, Lord of Hereford, 80.
Tyleglas, Vaughans of, 79.

"Unicorn Inn" at Weobley, Charles I. at the, 211.
Urishay Castle, 67.
Usher, Archbishop, 21.
Uther Pendragon, 63.

Valence, William de, 141.
Valladolid, College at, endowed by Sir F. Englefield, 217.
Vaughan, Dr., formerly headmaster of Harrow, 86.
———Herbert, Cardinal, 94.
———of Bredwardine Castle, 80.
———of Burlton, 80.
———of Courtfield, 80.
———of Humphreston, 80.
———of Nannau, 80.
———of Tretower, 84.
———of Tyleglas, 79.
———Sibyll, 175.
———the Silurist, 86.
Vaughans, Earls of Carbery, 79.
———Earls of Lisburne, 79.
———of Hergest, 93.
Vavasour at Brampton Bryan Castle, 16.
Verdon, Sir John de, 182.
———Theobald de, 183.
Vicarages of St. Agnes, Philip Hayes, Cawkbridge, 48.
Vigornia (Worcester), 61.
Viscount Scudamore, John, 177.
Vychan, anglicized Vaughan, 79.

Walden, the Carmelite, 199.
Wales, Prince of, destroys Hereford Cathedral, Gryffyth, 24.
Walford Court, Walter Kyrle, Lord of, 223.
Walker, Miss Loveday, Incident at Bishopstone Rectory, 243.
Waller, Sir William, Hereford surrendered to, 112.
Waller, the poet, sister of Robert, 224.
Walwyn, Nicholas, resists distraint, 109.
Warwyn, Moreiddig, 81.
Webb, Rev. John, editor of Bishop Swinfield's roll of household expenses, 236.
Weld, Thomas, of Lulworth Castle, 93.
Well at Dinedor, Holy, 161.
———St. Ethelbert's, at Marden, 162.
———St. Peter's, at Peterchurch, 162.
Welsh Newton, Grave of Kemble at, 222.
Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, 195.
Weobley ale, or *Currw*, 204.
———Castle, Geoffrey Talbot shut up in, 206.
———Church, Stained-glass window in, 208.
———and Hereford Castles seized by Geoffrey Talbot, 205.

Weobley, The Ley in, 214.
———Timber market and Town Hall at, 213.
West Mercia, Stronghold of Merewald, of, 248.
West Saxons, Harold, Earl of the, 99.
Weymouth, Lord, Lease of ground from, 230.
———Viscount, Thomas Thynne, afterwards, 207.
Whelyn, Jevon, bearer of the three stirrups, 171.
White Canons, Premonstratensians or, 115.
White wine of Ledbury, Record of purchases of the, 237.
Whitney family, of Almeley, 200.
———Sir Robert, slain on the hill of Pilleth, 191.
Widemarsh Common, the place of Kemble's execution, 222.
Wigmore Abbey, 123.
Will in verse, George Tomkin's, 166.
Willis, Professor, Prompt measures for restoration of cathedral by, 34.
Winchester, Henry, Bishop of, 25.
Window in Weobley Church, Stained-glass, 208.
Wogan, Sir Harry, 84.
Wolsey, Thomas, a young scholar from Ipswich, 31.
Worcester, Demolition of the "Guesten Hall" at, 265.
Wordsworth, anecdote of Dorothy, 244.
Wordsworth's stone at Church House, Laysters, 244.
Wormesley Priory, 123, 181.
Woodhull, John, seized by the Bishop, 201.
Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, 24.
Wyatt, James, Utter ruin of Hereford Cathedral by, 33.
Wycliffe's Bible, Copy in Hereford Cathedral of, 36.
Wycliffites, 200.
Wynns, of Wynnstay, 81.
Wythall, The, in Ross, 214.

Xavier, Sacristy at Hereford of St. Francis, 227.

Bemrose & Sons Limited, Printers, Derby, London and Watford.

Selected from the Catalogue of BEMROSE & SONS, Ltd.

Memorials of the Counties of England.

MEMORIALS OF OLD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Edited by the Rev. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A. Dedicated by kind permission to the Right Hon. Lord Rothschild, Lord Lieutenant of the County. With numerous illustrations of historic and archæological interest. Demy 8vo, cloth, price **12/6** net.

"A charming book to those who love the corners and byeways of England. . . . There are some admirable photographs."—*Daily Mail.*

"One of greatest interest to historian, antiquarian, or anyone who delights in the beautiful."—*Bolton Evening News.*

MEMORIALS OF OLD NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Edited by ALICE DRYDEN. With numerous illustrations. Demy 8vo, handsome binding, cloth extra, gilt top, price **15/-** net.

"Exceedingly interesting reading, and well written."—*St. James's Gazette.*

"This is a valuable, well illustrated, and interesting book."—*Queen.*

"A volume of much interest, with good illustrations, mostly photographs."—*Times.*

MEMORIALS OF OLD OXFORDSHIRE.

Edited by the Rev. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "Memorials of Old Buckinghamshire." Dedicated by kind permission to the Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. With numerous illustrations. Demy 8vo, handsome binding, cloth extra, gilt top, price **15/-** net.

"This beautiful book contains an exhaustive history of 'the wondrous Oxford to which so many distinguished scholars and politicians look back with affection. We must refer the reader to the volume itself . . . and only wish that we had space to quote extracts from its interesting pages."—*Spectator.*

"One does not need to be acquainted with the county of Oxfordshire to find enjoyment in this book."—*St. James's Gazette.*

MEMORIALS OF OLD DEVONSHIRE.

Edited by F. J. SNELL, M.A., Author of "A Book of Exmoor," &c. Dedicated by kind permission to the Right Hon. Viscount Ebrington, Lord Lieutenant of the County. Demy 8vo, handsome binding, cloth extra, gilt top. With numerous illustrations. Price **15/-** net.

The list of Contributors includes Lord COLERIDGE, Rev. Chancellor EDMONDS, B.D., Rev. Prebendary GRANVILLE, M.A., Miss ALICE DRYDEN, F. H. COLSON, M.A., W. H. K. WRIGHT, and other eminent writers.

MEMORIALS OF OLD HEREFORDSHIRE.

Edited by the Rev. COMPTON READE, M.A., Author of "Vera Effigies," "A Memoir of Charles Reade, D.C.L.," &c., &c. Dedicated by kind permission to John Hungerford Arkwright, Esq., Lord Lieutenant of the County. Demy 8vo, handsome binding, cloth extra, gilt top. With many illustrations. Price **15/-** net.

The list of Contributors includes The Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of HEREFORD, Rev. Custos DUNCOMBE, Right Rev. Prior CUMMINS, and other eminent writers.

OTHER VOLUMES IN PREPARATION.

HISTORY OF OLD ENGLISH PORCELAIN AND ITS MANUFACTORIES.

With an Artistic, Industrial and Critical Appreciation of their Productions. By M. L. SOLON, the well-known Potter Artist and Collector. In One handsome Volume, Royal 8vo, well printed in clear type on good paper, and beautifully illustrated with 20 full-page Coloured Collotype and Photo-Chromotype Plates and 48 Collotype Plates on Tint. Artistically bound. Price £2 12s. 6d. net.

"Mr. Solon writes not only with the authority of the master of technique, but likewise with that of the accomplished artist, whose exquisite creations command the admiration of the connoisseurs of to-day."—*Athenæum.*

"Like the contents and the illustrations, the whole get-up of the book is excellent to a degree which is not often met with even in English books. Those who are interested from any point of view in the history of English bone porcelain may be warmly recommended to study the book, which is a real mine of information and a beautiful work of art."—*Tonindustrie-Zeitung, Berlin.*

"Written in a very clear and lucid style, it is a practically exhaustive account of the evolution of English Porcelain."—*Connoisseur.*

THE ART OF THE OLD ENGLISH POTTER.

By M. L. SOLON. An Account of the Progress of the Craft in England from the earliest period to the middle of the eighteenth century. The work forms a handsome volume in imperial quarto, printed on Dutch hand-made paper, with 50 Plates etched on copper by the Author. Only 250 copies were printed, and the plates destroyed after publication. Messrs. Bemrose & Sons, Ltd., have a few copies left, which are offered at **105/-** each net.

Second Edition, Revised. With an Appendix on Foreign imitations of English Earthenware. Illustrated by the Author. Demy 8vo, cloth, price **10/6**; large paper, **21/-**.

THE CERAMICS OF SWANSEA AND NANTGARW.

A History of the Factories. With Biographical Notices of the Artists and others, Notes on the Merits of the Porcelains, the marks thereon, &c. By WILLIAM TURNER, F.S.S. Also an Appendix on the Mannerisms of the Artists, by ROBERT DRANE, F.L.S. Illustrated with Collotype Plates, plain and coloured, and half-tone engravings. Crown 4to, buckram. Price **63/-** net. *Only a few copies left.*

"A welcome contribution to the already large library of potters and lovers of pots."—*Athenæum.*

THE CORPORATION PLATE AND INSIGNIA OF OFFICE OF THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

By the late LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A. Edited and completed with large additions by W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A. Fully illustrated, 2 vols., Crown 4to, buckram, **84/-** net. Large paper, 2 vols., Royal 4to, **105/-** net.

THE RELIQUARY: AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE FOR ANTIQUARIES, ARTISTS AND COLLECTORS.

A Quarterly Journal and Review devoted to the study of primitive industries, mediæval handicrafts, the evolution of ornament, religious symbolism, survivals of the past in the present, and ancient art generally. Edited by J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A. New Series. Vols. 1 to 10. Super Royal 8vo, buckram, price **12/-** each net. Special terms for sets. Prospectus will be sent on application.

GARDEN CITIES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Being an Amplification of a Paper on the Potentialities of Applied Science in a Garden City, read before Section F of the British Association. By A. R. SENNETT, A.M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E., &c. Large Crown 8vo. Two vols., attractively bound in cloth. With many plans and illustrations. Price to Subscribers, **21/-** net.

Prospectus will be sent on application.

ACROSS THE GREAT SAINT BERNARD.

The Modes of Nature and the Manners of Man. By A. R. SENNETT, A.M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E., &c., with original drawings by Harold Percival, and nearly two hundred illustrations. Large Crown 8vo, attractively bound in cloth. Price **6/-** net.

TRACES OF THE NORSE MYTHOLOGY IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

A Paper read before the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society. By P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot., &c. Demy 8vo. Illustrated with 10 plates, paper cover, price **2/6**.

"This brochure is undoubtedly a very valuable addition to our scanty knowledge of an obscure yet extremely fascinating subject."—*Reliquary.*

CHURCH AND PRIORY OF S. MARY, USK.

By ROBERT RICKARDS. Demy 8vo, paper boards, illustrated, price **3/6** net.

"It contains much valuable and interesting matter. The original documents in the Appendix are not the least valuable portions of the work."—*The Western Mail.*

"Church historians will find a volume abounding in interest."—*Daily News.*

A SHORT HISTORY OF SEPULCHRAL CROSS-SLABS.

With Reference to other Emblems found thereon. By K. E. STYAN. With Notes and 71 Plates and Illustrations of Examples found in the British Isles. Demy 8vo, cloth, price **7/6** net.

This volume is intended as a short popular history on the Sepulchral Cross-Slabs of the early centuries, for the use of both students and general readers.

"Really a work of art. The slabs selected by the author for her well-drawn illustrations number about seventy. In the introductory chapters a good deal of information is given which will help visitors to churches where these monuments of piety have escaped the spoilers' hands to fix approximately the dates of the slab. We almost believe that some of the parish priests, who at present are not much inclined to value such treasures, may be led to take more care of them if they will learn from Miss Styan what there is to admire in them."—*Church Times.*

THE ROMAN FORT OF GELLYGAER IN THE COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

By JOHN WARD, F.S.A., Curator of the Welsh Museum, Cardiff, &c. Printed by order of the Committee of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society. The book is well illustrated, containing a General Plan (30 ft. to 1 in.), 13 Plates, and 22 Illustrations in the text, and is printed in the best style upon good paper. Demy 8vo, 120 pp., cloth, gilt, **7/6** net.

The work is the outcome of the excavation of the site of this Roman Fort by the Cardiff Naturalists' Society in the years 1899, 1900, and 1901.

"Mr. Ward, evidently, has spared no pains to give the fullest and clearest description of these interesting remains, and the illustrations, of which there are a large number, are excellent. They are illustrations in the truest sense of the word."—*Border Counties Advertiser.*

LLANDAFF CHURCH PLATE.

By George Eley Halliday, F.R.I.B.A., Diocesan Surveyor of Llandaff, with 59 illustrations in line and half-tone. Royal 8vo, cloth, price **12/6** net.

"A thoroughly good contribution to the history of Church Plate."—*Reliquary.*

THE REGISTERS OF THE PARISH OF ASKHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND,

from 1566 to 1812. Copied by Mary E. Noble, Editor of the "Bampton Parish Registers" and Author of "A History of Bampton." Demy 8vo, cloth, price **21/-** net.

These Registers contain many interesting entries of the Sandford, Myddleton, Collinson, Bowman, Law, Holme, Wilkinson, and Langhorne families, and others, and some reference to Parochial events. A list of Vicars is included, and some Local Notes.

"Miss Noble has followed up her admirable edition of the "Bampton Parish Registers" by copying and publishing the Registers of the adjoining parish of Askham, which go back to the year 1566. She has discharged her self-imposed task with her accustomed care and ability, and the handsomely printed and substantially bound volume of 250 pages is not merely a record of marryings, buryings, and christenings in this ancient parish . . . but a valuable contribution to the history of the border land."—*The Carlisle Patriot.*

MATLOCK MANOR AND PARISH.

Historical and Descriptive, with Pedigrees and Arms, and Map of Parish reduced from the Ordnance Survey. By Benjamin Bryan. Crown 8vo, cloth, **12/6**; large paper, **15/-**.

"Mr. Bryan's history is an excellent record of the rise and progress of the Matlocks up to the present time, and for many years to come local people will regard it as the standard work for consultation on all questions arising out of local customs, local government, local institutions, local events, and prominent local people."—*Derby Mercury.*

HOW TO WRITE THE HISTORY OF A PARISH.

An Outline Guide to Topographical Records, Manuscripts, and Books. By Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. *Fourth Edition.* Crown 8vo, buckram. Price **3/6.**

THE FRENCH STONEHENGE.

An Account of the Principal Megalithic Remains in the Morbihan Archipelago. By T. Cato Worsfold, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L., Member of the Council of the British Archæological Association; Author of "Staple Inn," "Antwerp, Past and Present," "Porta Nigra, the Treasure of Treves," &c. Second Edition. **With numerous additions and Illustrations.** Size 9 in. by 6 in., cloth, price **5/-.**

"Mr. Worsfold has compressed into a small space a great amount of interesting detail with regard not only to the megalithic and other stone monuments, but also to the Roman and early Mediæval remains in the district he has sought to illustrate. His style is easy and attractive, and his little work may induce visitors to France, who are interested in objects of remote antiquity, to take the opportunity of seeing a part of the country which abounds with them."—*Athenæum.*

London:

BEMROSE & SONS, LTD., 4, Snow Hill, E.C.;

AND DERBY.

4767